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THE WRITINGS OF THE FATHERS

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EDITED BY THE

REV. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D.,

AND

JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D.

VOL. VI.

HIPPOLYTUS, BISHOP OF PORTUS.

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THE

REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES,

BY

HIPPOLYTUS:

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THE REV. J. H. MACMAHON, M.A.

WITH

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TRANSLATED BY

THE REV. S. D. F. SALMOND.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

THE entire of *The Refutation of all Heresies*, with the exception of Book i., was found in a MS. brought from a convent on Mount Athos so recently as the year 1842. The discoverer of this treasure—for treasure it certainly is—was Minöides Mynas, an erudite Greek, who had visited his native country in search of ancient MSS., by direction of M. Abel Villemain, Minister of Public Instruction under Louis Philippe. The French Government have thus the credit of being instrumental in bringing to light this valuable work, while the University of Oxford share the distinction by being its earliest publishers. *The Refutation* was printed at the Clarendon Press in 1851, under the editorship of M. Emmanuel Miller,[1] whose labours have proved serviceable to all subsequent commentators. One generally acknowledged mistake was committed by Miller in ascribing the work to Origen. He was right in affirming that the discovered MS. was the continuation of the fragment *The Philosophumena*, inserted in the Benedictine copy of Origen's works. In the volume, however, containing the *Philosophumena*, we have dissertations by Huet, in which he questions Origen's authorship in favour of Epiphanius. Heuman attributed the *Philosophumena* to Didymus of Alexandria, Gale to Aetius;[2] and it, with the rest

[1] In addition to Miller, the translator has made use of the Göttingen edition, by Duncker and Schneidewin, 1859; and the Abbe Cruice's edition, Paris 1860.

[2] An Arian bishop of the first half of the fourth century.

of *The Refutation*, Fessler and Baur ascribed to Caius, but the Abbe Jellabert to Tertullian. The last hypothesis is untenable, if for no other reason, because the work is in Greek. In many respects, Caius, who was a presbyter of Rome in the time of Popes Victor and Zephyrinus, would seem the probable author; but a fatal argument—one applicable to those named above, except Epiphanius—against Caius is his not being, as the author of *The Refutation* in the *Procemium* declares himself to be, a bishop. Epiphanius no doubt filled the episcopal office; but when we have a large work of his on the heresies, with a summary,[1] it would seem scarcely probable that he composed likewise, on the same topic, an extended treatise like the present, with two abridgments. Whatever diversity of opinion, however, existed as to these claimants, most critics, though not all, now agree in denying the authorship of Origen. Neither the style nor tone of *The Refutation* is Origenian. Its compilatory process is foreign to Origen's plan of composition; while the subject-matter itself, for many reasons, would not be likely to have occupied the pen of the Alexandrine father. It is almost impossible but that Origen would have made some allusions in *The Refutation* to his other writings, or in them to it. Not only, however, is there no such allusion, but the derivation of the word "Ebionites," in *The Refutation*, and an expressed belief in the doctrine of eternal punishment, are at variance with Origen's authorship. Again, no work answering the description is awarded to Origen in catalogues of his extant or lost writings. These arguments are strengthened by the facts, that Origen was never a bishop, and that he did not reside for any length of time at Rome. He once paid a hurried visit to the capital of the West, whereas the author of *The Refutation* asserts his presence at Rome during the occurrence of events which occupied a period of some twenty years. And not only was he a spectator, but took part in these transactions in such an official and authoritative manner as Origen could never have assumed, either at Rome or elsewhere.

[1] See pp. 126–157, tom. ii., of Epiphanius' collected works, edited by Dionysius Petavius.

In this state of the controversy, commentators turned their attention towards Hippolytus, in favour of whose authorship the majority of modern scholars have decided. The arguments that have led to this conclusion, and those alleged by others against it, could not be adequately discussed in a notice like the present. Suffice it to say, that such names as Jacobi, Gieseler, Duncker, Schneidewin, Bernays, Bunsen, Wordsworth, and Döllinger, support the claims of Hippolytus. The testimony of Dr. Döllinger, considering the extent of his theological learning, and in particular his intimate acquaintance with the apostolic period in church history, virtually, we submit, decides the question. Those who are desirous of examining it for themselves may consult Gieseler's paper on Hippolytus, etc., in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1853; Hergenröther, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Tübingen 1852; Bunsen's *Hippolytus and his Age;* Wordsworth's *St. Hippolytus;* Dr. Döllinger's *Hippolytus und Kallistus: oder die Römische Kirche in der ersten Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts*, 1853; and Cruice's *Etudes sur de Nouveaux Documents Historiques empruntes au livre des Φιλοσοφούμενα*, 1853. See also articles in the *Quarterly Review*, 1851; *Ecclesiastic and Theologian*, 1852, 1853; the *Westminster Review*, 1853; the *Dublin Review*, 1853, 1854; *Le Correspondent*, t. xxxi.; and the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1865.

For a biography of Hippolytus we have not much authentic materials. There can be no reasonable doubt but that he was a bishop, and passed the greater portion of his life in Rome and its vicinity. This assertion corresponds with the conclusion adopted by Dr. Döllinger, who, however, refuses to allow that Hippolytus was, as is generally maintained, Bishop of Portus, a harbour of Rome at the northern mouth of the Tiber, opposite Ostia. However, it is satisfactory to establish, and especially upon such eminent authority as that of Dr. Döllinger, the fact of Hippolytus' connection with the Western Church, not only because it bears on the investigation of the authorship of *The Refutation*, the writer of which affirms his personal observation of what he records as occurring in his own time at Rome, but also because it overthrows the hypothesis

of those who contend that there were more Hippolytuses than one—Dr. Döllinger shows that there is only one historical Hippolytus—or that the East, and not Italy, was the sphere of his episcopal labours. Thus Le Moyne, in the seventeenth century, a French writer resident in Leyden, ingeniously argues that Hippolytus was bishop of *Portus Romanorum* (Aden), in Arabia. Le Moyne's theory was adopted by some celebrities, viz. Dupin, Tillemont, Spanheim, Basnage, and our own Dr. Cave. To this position are opposed, among others, the names of Nicephorus, Syncellus, Baronius, Bellarmine, Dodwell, Beveridge, Bull, and Archbishop Ussher. The judgment and critical accuracy of Ussher is, on a point of this kind, of the highest value. Wherefore the question of Hippolytus being bishop of Portus near Rome would also appear established, for the reasons laid down in Bunsen's *Letters to Archdeacon Hare*, and Canon Wordsworth's *St. Hippolytus*. The mind of inquirers appears to have been primarily unsettled in consequence of Eusebius' mentioning Hippolytus (*Ecclesiast. Hist.* vi. 10) in company with Beryllus (of Bostra), an Arabian, expressing at the same time his uncertainty as to where Hippolytus was bishop. This indecision is easily explained, and cannot invalidate the tradition and historical testimony which assign the bishopric of Portus near Rome to Hippolytus, a saint and martyr of the church. Of his martyrdom, though the fact itself is certain, the details, furnished in Prudentius' hymn, are unreliable. Thus the mode of Hippolytus' death is stated by Prudentius to have been identical with that of Hippolytus the son of Theseus, who was torn limb from limb by being tied to wild horses. St. Hippolytus, however, is known on historical testimony to have been thrown into a canal and drowned; but whether the scene of his martyrdom was Sardinia, to which he was undoubtedly banished along with the Roman bishop Pontianus, or Rome, or Portus, has not as yet been definitively proved. The time of his martyrdom, however, is probably a year or two, perhaps less or more, after the commencement of the reign of Maximin the Thracian, that is, somewhere about

A.D. 235–39. This enables us to determine the age of Hippolytus; and as some statements in *The Refutation* evince the work to be the composition of an old man, and as the work itself was written after the death of Callistus in A.D. 222, this would transfer the period of his birth to not very long after the last half of the second century.

The contents of *The Refutation*, as they originally stood, seem to have been arranged thus: The first Book (which we have) contained an account of the different schools of ancient philosophers; the second (which is missing), the doctrines and mysteries of the Egyptians; the third (likewise missing), the Chaldæan science and astrology; and the fourth (the beginning of which is missing), the system of the Chaldæan horoscope, and the magical rites and incantations of the Babylonian Theurgists. Next came the portion of the work relating more immediately to the heresies of the church, which is contained in Books v.–ix. The tenth Book is the *résumé* of the entire, together with the exposition of the author's own religious opinions. The heresies enumerated by Hippolytus comprehend a period starting from an age prior to the composition of St. John's Gospel, and terminating with the death of Callistus. The heresies are explained according to chronological development, and may be ranged under five leading schools: (1) The Ophites; (2) Simonists; (3) Basilidians; (4) Docetæ; (5) Noetians. Hippolytus ascends to the origin of heresy, not only in assigning heterodoxy a derivative nature from heathenism, but in pointing out in the *Gnosis* elements of abnormal opinions antecedent to the promulgation of Christianity. We have thus a most interesting account of the early heresies, which in some respects supplies many *desiderata* in the ecclesiastical history of this epoch.

We can scarcely over-estimate the value of *The Refutation*, on account of the propinquity of its author to the apostolic age. Hippolytus was a disciple of St. Irenæus, St. Irenæus of St. Polycarp, St. Polycarp of St. John. Indeed, one fact of grave importance connected with the writings of St. John, is elicited from Hippolytus' *Refutation*. The passage given out of Basilides' work, containing

a quotation by the heretic from St. John i. 9, settles the period of the composition of the fourth Gospel, as of greater antiquity by at least thirty years than is allowed to it by the Tübingen school. It is therefore obvious that Basilides formed his system out of the prologue of St. John's Gospel; thus for ever setting at rest the allegation of these critics, that St. John's Gospel was written at a later date, and assigned an apostolic author, in order to silence the Basilidian Gnostics.[1] In the case of Irenæus, too, *The Refutation* has restored the Greek text of much of his book *Against Heresies*, hitherto only known to us in a Latin version. Nor is the value of Hippolytus' work seriously impaired, even on the supposition of the authorship not being proved,—a concession, however, in no wise justified by the evidence. Whoever the writer of *The Refutation* be, he belonged to the early portion of the third century, formed his compilations from primitive sources, made conscientious preparation for his undertaking, delivered statements confirmed by early writers of note,[2] and lastly, in the execution of his task, furnished indubitable marks of information and research,

[1] It settles the period of the composition of St. John's Gospel only, of course, on the supposition that Hippolytus is giving a correct account as regards Basilides' work. The mode, however, in which Hippolytus introduces the quotation, appears to place its authenticity beyond reasonable doubt. He represents Basilides (see Book vii. chap. 10) as notifying his reference to St. John's Gospel thus, "And this," he says, "is what has been stated in the Gospels: 'He was the true light, which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world.'" Now this is precisely the mode of reference we should expect that Basilides would employ; whereas, if Hippolytus had either fabricated the passage or adduced it from hearsay, it is almost certain he would have said "in the Gospel of St. John," and not indefinitely "the Gospels." And more than this, the formulary "in the Gospels," adopted by Basilides, reads very like a recognition of an agreed collection of authorized accounts of our Lord's life and sayings. It is also remarkable that the word "stated" (λεγόμενον) Basilides has just used in quoting (Gen. i. 3) as interchangeable with "written" (γέγραπται), the word exclusively applied to what is included within the canon of Scripture.

[2] For instance, St. Irenæus, whom Hippolytus professes to follow, Epiphanius, Theodoret, St. Augustine, etc.

and of having thoroughly mastered the relations and affinities, each to other, of the various heresies of the first two and a quarter centuries. These heresies, whether deducible from attempts to christianize the philosophy of Paganism, or to interpret the Doctrines and Life of our Lord by the tenets of Gnosticism and oriental speculation generally, or to create a compromise with the pretensions of Judaism,—these heresies, amid all their complexity and diversity, St. Hippolytus[1] reduces to one common ground of censure—antagonism to Holy Scripture. Heresy, thus branded, he leaves to wither under the condemnatory sentence of the Church.

[1] The translator desires to acknowledge obligations to Dr. Lottner, Professor of Sanskrit and sub-librarian in Trinity College, Dublin,—a gentleman of extensive historical erudition as well as of accurate and comprehensive scholarship.

BOOK I.

OF THE

REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES.[1]

CONTENTS.

THE following are the contents of the first book of *The Refutation of all Heresies.*

We propose to furnish an account of the tenets of natural philosophers, and who these are, as well as the tenets of moral philosophers, and who these are; and thirdly, the tenets of logicians, and who these logicians are.

Among natural philosophers[2] may be enumerated Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Anaximander, Anaxi-

[1] The four of the MSS. of the first book extant prior to the recent discovery of seven out of the remaining nine books of *The Refutation*, concur in ascribing it to Origen. These inscriptions run thus: 1. "Refutation by Origen of all Heresies;" 2. "Of Origen's Philosophumena . . . . these are the contents;" 3. "Being estimable [Dissertations] by Origen, a man of the greatest wisdom." The recently discovered MS. itself in the margin has the words, "Origen, and Origen's opinion." The title, as agreed upon by modern commentators, is: 1. "Book I. of Origen's Refutation of all Heresies" (Wolf and Gronovius); 2. "A Refutation of all Heresies;" 3. "Origen's Philosophumena, or the Refutation of all Heresies." The last is Miller's in his Oxford edition, 1851. The title might have been, "Philosophumena, and the Refutation (therefrom) of all Heresies." There were obviously two divisions of the work: (1) A *résumé* of the tenets of the philosophers (Books i. ii. iii. iv.), preparatory to (2) the refutation of heresies, on the ground of their derivative character from Greek and Egyptian speculation. Bunsen would denominate the work "St. Hippolytus' (Bishop and Martyr) Refutation of all Heresies; what remains of the ten books."

[2] Most of what follows in Book i. is a compilation from ancient sources. The ablest *résumé* followed by Cicero in the *De Nat. Deor.*, of the tenets

menes, Anaxagoras, Archelaus, Parmenides, Leucippus, Democritus, Xenophanes, Ecphantus, Hippo.

Among moral philosophers are Socrates, pupil of Archelaus the physicist, [and] Plato the pupil of Socrates. This [speculator] combined three systems of philosophy.

Among logicians is Aristotle, pupil of Plato. He systematized the art of dialectics. Among the Stoic [logicians] were Chrysippus [and] Zeno. Epicurus, however, advanced an opinion almost contrary to all philosophers. Pyrrho was an Academic;[1] this [speculator] taught the incomprehensibility of everything. The Brahmins among the Indians, and the Druids among the Celts, and Hesiod [devoted themselves to philosophic pursuits].

THE PROŒMIUM.

We must not overlook[2] any figment devised by those denominated philosophers among the Greeks. For even their incoherent tenets must be received as reliable, on account of the excessive madness of the heretics; who, from the observance of silence, and from concealing their own ineffable mysteries, have by many been supposed worshippers of God.[3] We have likewise, on a former occasion,[4] ex-

of the ancient philosophers, is to be found in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. The English reader is referred to the *Metaphysics*, book i. pp. 13–46 (Bohn's Classical Library), also to the translator's analysis prefixed to this work, pp. 17–25. See also Diogenes' *Lives of the Philosophers*, and Tenneman's *Manual of Philosophy* (translated in Bohn's Library); Plutarch, *De Placitis Philosophorum;* Lewes' *Biographical History of* (*Ancient*) *Philosophy;* and Rev. Dr. F. D. Maurice's *History of* (*Ancient*) *Metaphysical and Moral Philosophy*. The same subject is discussed in Ritter's *History of Philosophy* (translated by Morrison).

[1] This word is variously given thus: Academian, Academeian, Academaic, Academe, Cademian, and Cadimian. The two last would seem to indicate the character rather than the philosophy of Pyrrho. To favour this view, the text should be altered into καὶ ἄδημος, *i.e.* ἀπόδημος = from home, not domestic.

[2] Some hiatus at the beginning of this sentence is apparent.

[3] An elaborate defence of this position forms the subject of Cudworth's great work, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*.

[4] This statement has been urged against Origen's authorship, in favour

pounded the doctrines of these briefly, not illustrating them with any degree of minuteness, but refuting them in coarse digest; not having considered it requisite to bring to light their secret[1] doctrines, in order that, when we have explained their tenets by enigmas, they, becoming ashamed, lest also, by our divulging their mysteries, we should convict them of atheism, might be induced to desist in some degree from their unreasonable opinion and their profane attempt.[2] But since I perceive that they have not been abashed by our forbearance, and have made no account of how God is long-suffering, though blasphemed by them, in order that either from shame they may repent, or should they persevere, be justly condemned, I am forced to proceed in my intention of exposing those secret mysteries of theirs, which, to the initiated, with a vast amount of plausibility they deliver who are not accustomed first to disclose [to any one], till, by keeping such in suspense during a period [of necessary preparation], and by rendering him blasphemous towards the true God, they have acquired complete ascendancy over him, and perceive him eagerly panting after the promised disclosure. And then, when they have tested him to be enslaved by sin, they initiate him, putting him in possession of the perfection of wicked things. Previously, however, they bind him with an oath neither to divulge [the mysteries], nor to hold communication with any person whatsoever, unless he first undergo similar subjection, though, when the doctrine has been simply delivered [to any one], there was no longer any need of an oath. For he who was content to submit to the necessary purgation,[3] and so receive the perfect mysteries of these men, by the very act itself, as well as in reference to his own conscience, will feel himself sufficiently under an obligation not to divulge to others; for if he once disclose

of Epiphanius, who wrote an extended treatise on the *Heresies*, with an abridgment.

[1] That is, their esoteric mysteries, intended only for a favoured few, as contrasted with the exoteric, designed for more general diffusion.

[2] One MS. has—"the profane opinion and unreasonable attempt."

[3] "To learn" (Roeper).

wickedness of this description to any man, he would neither be reckoned among men, nor be deemed worthy to behold the light, since not even irrational animals[1] would attempt such an enormity, as we shall explain when we come to treat of such topics.

Since, however, reason compels us to plunge[2] into the very depth of narrative, we conceive we should not be silent, but, expounding the tenets of the several schools with minuteness, we shall evince reserve in nothing. Now it seems expedient, even at the expense of a more protracted investigation, not to shrink from labour; for we shall leave behind us no trifling auxiliary to human life against the recurrence of error, when all are made to behold, in an obvious light, the clandestine rites of these men, and the secret orgies which, retaining under their management, they deliver to the initiated only. But none will refute these, save the Holy Spirit bequeathed unto the Church, which the Apostles having in the first instance received, have transmitted to those who have rightly believed. But we, as being their successors, and as participators in this grace, high-priesthood, and office of teaching,[3] as well as being reputed guardians of the Church, must not be found deficient in vigilance,[4] or disposed to suppress correct doctrine.[5] Not even, however, labouring with every energy of body and soul, do we tire in our attempt adequately to render our Divine Benefactor a fitting return; and yet withal we do not so requite Him in a becoming manner, except we are not remiss in discharging the trust committed

[1] "And those that are irrational animals do not attempt," (or) "because irrational," etc. The last is Sancroft's reading; that in the text, Roeper's.

[2] "Ascend up to" (Roeper).

[3] This passage is quoted by those who impugn the authorship of Origen on the ground of his never having been a bishop of the church. It is not, however, quite certain that the words refer to the episcopal office exclusively.

[4] The common reading is in the future, but the present tense is adopted by Richter in his *Critical Observations*, p. 77.

[5] It might be, "any opinion that may be subservient to the subject taken in hand." This is Cruice's rendering in his Latin version. A dif-

to us, but careful to complete the measure of our particular opportunity, and to impart to all without grudging whatever the Holy Ghost supplies, not only bringing to light,[1] by means of our refutation, matters foreign [to our subject], but also whatsoever things the truth has received by the grace of the Father,[2] and ministered to men. These also, illustrating by argument and creating testimony[3] by letters, we shall unabashed proclaim.

In order, then, as we have already stated, that we may prove them atheists, both in opinion and their mode [of treating a question] and in fact, and [in order to show] whence it is that their attempted theories have accrued unto them, and that they have endeavoured to establish their tenets, taking nothing from the Holy Scriptures (nor is it from preserving the succession of any saint that they have hurried headlong into these opinions); but that their doctrines have derived their origin[4] from the wisdom of the Greeks, from the conclusions of those who have formed systems of philosophy, and from would-be mysteries, and the vagaries of astrologers,—it seems, then, advisable, in the first instance, by explaining the opinions advanced by the philosophers of the Greeks, to satisfy our readers that such are of greater antiquity than these [heresies], and more deserving of reverence in reference to their views respecting the divinity; in the next place, to compare each heresy with the system of each speculator, so as to show that the earliest champion of the heresy availing himself[5] of these attempted theories, has turned them to advantage by appropriating their principles, and, impelled from these into worse, has constructed his own doctrine. The undertaking admittedly is full of labour, and [is one] requiring extended research. We shall not, however, be wanting in exertion;

ferent reading is, "we must not be silent as regards reasons that hold good," or, "as regards rational distinctions," or, "refrain from utterances through the instrument of reasoning." The last is Roeper's.

[1] Another reading is, "bringing into a collection."

[2] Or, "the Spirit."

[3] Or, "indicating a witness;" or, "having adduced testimony."

[4] Or, "a starting-point."

[5] Or, "devoting his attention to;" or, "having lighted upon."

for afterwards it will be a source of joy, just like an athlete obtaining with much toil the crown, or a merchant after a huge swell of sea compassing gain, or a husbandman after sweat of brow enjoying the fruits, or a prophet after reproaches and insults seeing his predictions turning out true. In the commencement, therefore, we shall declare who first, among the Greeks, pointed out [the principles of] natural philosophy. For from these especially have they furtively taken their views who have first propounded these heresies,[1] as we shall subsequently prove when we come to compare them one with another. Assigning to each of those who take the lead among philosophers their own peculiar tenets, we shall publicly exhibit these heresiarchs as naked and unseemly.

Chapter I.

Thales—his Physics and Theology—Founder of Greek Astronomy.

It is said that Thales of Miletus, one of the seven wise men, first attempted to frame a system of natural philosophy. This person said that some such thing as water is the generative principle of the universe, and its end;—for that out of this, solidified and again dissolved, all things consist, and that all things are supported on it; from which also arise both earthquakes and changes of the winds and atmospheric movements,[2] and that all things are both produced[3] and are in a state of flux corresponding with the nature of the primary author of generation;—and that the Deity[4]

[1] The chief writers on the early heresies are: Irenæus, of the second century; Hippolytus, his pupil, of the third; Philastrius, Epiphanius, and St. Augustine, of the fourth century. The learned need scarcely be reminded of the comprehensive digest furnished by Ittigius in the preface to his dissertation on the heresies of the apostolic and post-apostolic ages. A book more within the reach of the general reader is Dr. Burton's *Inquiry into the Heresies of the Apostolic Age.*

[2] Or, "motions of the stars" (Roeper).

[3] Or, "carried along" (Roeper).

[4] Or, "that which is divine." See Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* v. p. 494 (Heinsius and Sylburgius' ed.). Thales, on being asked, "What is God?" "That," replied he, "which has neither beginning nor end."

is that which has neither beginning nor end. This person having been occupied with an hypothesis and investigation concerning the stars, became the earliest author to the Greeks of this kind of learning. And he, looking towards heaven, alleging that he was carefully examining supernal objects, fell into a well; and a certain maid, by name Thratta, remarked of him derisively, that while intent on beholding things in heaven, he did not know[1] what was at his feet. And he lived about the time of Crœsus.

Chapter II.

Pythagoras—his Cosmogony—Rules of his Sect—Discoverer of Physiognomy—his Philosophy of Numbers—his System of the Transmigration of Souls—Zaratas on Demons—why Pythagoras forbade the eating of Beans—the Mode of Living adopted by his Disciples.

But there was also, not far from these times, another philosophy which Pythagoras originated (who some say was a native of Samos), which they have denominated Italian, because that Pythagoras, flying from Polycrates the king of Samos, took up his residence in a city of Italy, and there passed the entire of his remaining years. And they who received in succession his doctrine, did not much differ from the same opinion. And this person, instituting an investigation concerning natural phenomena,[2] combined together astronomy, and geometry, and music.[3] And so he proclaimed that the Deity is a monad; and carefully acquainting himself with the nature of number, he affirmed that the world sings, and that its system corresponds with harmony, and he first resolved the motion of the seven stars into rhythm and melody. And being astonished at the management of the entire fabric, he required that at first his disciples should keep silence, as if persons coming into the world initiated in [the secrets of] the universe; next, when it seemed that they were sufficiently conversant with his mode of teaching his doctrine, and could forcibly philosophize concerning the stars

[1] Or, "see."

[2] Or, "nature."

[3] "And arithmetic" (added by Roeper).

and nature, then, considering them pure, he enjoins them to speak. This man distributed his pupils into two orders, and called the one esoteric, but the other exoteric. And to the former he confided more advanced doctrines, and to the latter a more moderate amount of instruction.

And he also touched on magic—as they say—and himself[1] discovered an art of physiogony,[2] laying down as a basis certain numbers and measures, saying that they comprised the principle of arithmetical philosophy by composition after this manner. The first number became an originating principle, which is one, indefinable, incomprehensible, having in itself all numbers that, according to plurality, can go on *ad infinitum*. But the primary monad became a principle of numbers, according to substance,[3]—which is a male monad, begetting after the manner of a parent all the rest of the numbers. Secondly, the duad is a female number, and the same also is by arithmeticians termed even. Thirdly, the triad is a male number. This also has been classified by arithmeticians under the denomination uneven. And in addition to all these is the tetrad, a female number; and the same also is called even, because it is female. Therefore all the numbers that have been derived from the genus are four; but number is the indefinite genus, from which was constituted, according to them, the perfect[4] number, viz. the decade. For one, two, three, four, become ten, if its proper denomination be preserved essentially for each of the numbers. Pythagoras affirmed this to be a sacred quaternion, source of everlasting nature,[5] having, as it were, roots in itself; and that from this number all the numbers receive their originating principle. For eleven, and twelve, and the rest, partake of the origin of existence[6] from ten. Of this decade, the perfect number, there are termed four divisions,

[1] Or, "and he first."

[2] Or, "physiognomy."

[3] Or, "in conformity with his hypothesis."

[4] Or, "the third."

[5] Or, "an everlasting nature;" or, "having the roots of an everlasting nature in itself," the words "as it were" being omitted in some MSS.

[6] Or, "production."

—namely, number, monad,[1] square, [and] cube. And the connections and blendings of these are performed, according to nature, for the generation of growth completing the productive number. For when the square itself is multiplied[2] into itself, a biquadratic is the result. But when the square is multiplied into the cube, the result is the product of a square and cube; and when the cube is multiplied into the cube, the product of two cubes is the result. So that all the numbers from which the production of existing [numbers] arises, are seven,—namely, number, monad, square, cube, biquadratic, quadratic-cube, cubo-cube.

This philosopher likewise said that the soul is immortal, and that it subsists in successive bodies. Wherefore he asserted that before the Trojan era he was Æthalides,[3] and during the Trojan epoch Euphorbus, and subsequent to this Hermotimus of Samos, and after him Pyrrhus of Delos; fifth, Pythagoras. And Diodorus the Eretrian,[4] and Aristoxenus[5] the musician, assert that Pythagoras came to

[1] It should be probably, "monad, number." The monad was with Pythagoras, and in imitation of him with Leibnitz, the highest generalization of number, and a conception in abstraction, commensurate with what we call essence, whether of matter or spirit.

[2] Κοβισθῇ in text must be rendered "multiplied." The formulary is self-evident: $(a^2)^2 = a^4$, $(a^2)^3 = a^6$, $(a^3)^3 = a^9$.

[3] Or Thallis. Æthalides, a son of Hermes, was herald of the Argonauts, and said never to have forgotten anything. In this way his soul remembered its successive migrations into the bodies of Euphorbus, Hermotimus, Pyrrhus, and Pythagoras. (See Diogenes' *Lives*, book viii. chap. i. sec. 4.)

[4] No name occurs more frequently in the annals of Greek literature than that of Diodorus. One, however, with the title "of Eretria," as far as the translator knows, is mentioned only by Hippolytus; so that this is likely another Diodorus to be added to the long list already existing. It may be that Diodorus Eretriensis is the same as Diodorus Crotoniates, a Pythagorean philosopher. See Fabricius' *Biblioth. Græc.* lib. ii. cap. iii., lib. iii. cap. xxxi.; also Meursius' *Annotations*, p. 20, *on Chalcidius' Commentary on Plato's Timæus.* The article in *Smith's Dictionary* is a transcript of these.

[5] Aristoxenus is mentioned by Cicero in his *Tusculan Questions*, book i. chap. xviii., as having broached a theory in psychology, which may have suggested, in modern times, to David Hartley his hypothesis of

Zaratas[1] the Chaldæan, and that he explained to him that there are two original causes of things, father and mother, and that father is light, but mother darkness; and that of the light the parts are hot, dry, not heavy, light, swift; but of darkness, cold, moist, weighty, slow; and that out of all these, from female and male, the world consists. But the world, he says, is a musical harmony;[2] wherefore, also, that the sun performs a circuit in accordance with harmony. And as regards the things that are produced from earth and the cosmical system, they maintain that Zaratas[3] makes the following statements: that there are two demons, the one celestial and the other terrestrial; and that the terrestrial sends up a production from earth, and that this is water; and that the celestial is a fire, partaking of the nature of air, hot and cold.[4] And he therefore affirms that none of these destroys or sullies the soul, for these constitute the substance of all things. And he is reported to have ordered his followers not to eat beans, because that Zaratas said that, at the origin and concretion of all things, when the earth was still undergoing its process of solidification,[5] and that of putrefaction had set in, the bean was produced. And of

sensation being the result of nerval vibrations. Cicero says of Aristoxenus, "that he was so charmed with his own harmonies, that he sought to transfer them into investigations concerning our corporeal and spiritual nature."

[1] Zaratas is another form of the name Zoroaster.

[2] Or, "is a nature according to musical harmony" (preceding note); or, "The cosmical system is nature and a musical harmony."

[3] Zaratas, or Zoroaster, is employed as a sort of generic denomination for philosopher by the Orientals, who, whatever portions of Asia they inhabit, mostly ascribe their speculative systems to a Zoroaster. No less than six individuals bearing this name are spoken of. Arnobius (*Contr. Gentes.* i. 52) mentions four—(1) a Chaldæan, (2) Bactrian, (3) Pamphylian, (4) Armenian. Pliny mentions a fifth as a native of Proconnesus (*Nat. Hist.* xxx. 1), while Apuleius (*Florida*, ii. 15) a sixth Zoroaster, a native of Babylon, and contemporary with Pythagoras, the one evidently alluded to by Hippolytus. (See translator's *Treatise on Metaphysics*, chap. ii.)

[4] Or, "that it was hot and cold," or "hot of moist."

[5] Or it might be rendered, "a process of arrangement." The Abbe Cruice (in his edition of *Hippolytus*, Paris 1860) suggests a different

this he mentions the following indication, that if any one, after having chewed a bean without the husk, places it opposite the sun for a certain period,—for this immediately will aid in the result,—it yields the smell of human seed. And he mentions also another clearer instance to be this: if, when the bean is blossoming, we take the bean and its flower, and deposit them in a jar, smear this over, and bury it in the ground, and after a few days uncover it, we shall see it wearing the appearance, first of a woman's *pudendum*, and after this, when closely examined, of the head of a child growing in along with it. This person being burned along with his disciples in Croton, a town of Italy, perished. And this was a habit with him, whenever one repaired to him with a view of becoming his follower, [the candidate disciple was compelled] to sell his possessions, and lodge the money sealed with Pythagoras, and he continued in silence to undergo instruction, sometimes for three, but sometimes for five years. And again, on being released, he was permitted to associate with the rest, and remained as a disciple, and took his meals along with them; if otherwise, however, he received back his property, and was rejected. These persons, then, were styled Esoteric Pythagoreans, whereas the rest, Pythagoristæ.

Among his followers, however, who escaped the conflagration were Lysis and Archippus, and the servant of Pythagoras, Zamolxis,[1] who also is said to have taught the Celtic Druids to cultivate the philosophy of Pythagoras. And they assert that Pythagoras learned from the Egyptians his system of numbers and measures; and being struck by the plausible, fanciful, and not easily revealed wisdom of the priests, he himself likewise, in imitation of them, enjoined silence, and made his disciples lead a solitary life in underground chapels.[2]

reading, which would make the words translate thus, "when the earth was an undigested and solid mass."

[1] Or, "Zametus."

[2] Or, "leading them down into cells, made them," etc.; or, "made his disciples observe silence," etc.

Chapter III.

Empedocles—his Twofold Cause—Tenet of Transmigration.

But Empedocles, born after these, advanced likewise many statements respecting the nature of demons, to the effect that, being very numerous, they pass their time in managing earthly concerns. This person affirmed the originating principle of the universe to be discord and friendship, and that the intelligible fire of the monad is the Deity, and that all things consist of fire, and will be resolved into fire; with which opinion the Stoics likewise almost agree, expecting a conflagration. But most of all does he concur with the tenet of transition of souls from body to body, expressing himself thus:

"For surely both youth and maid I was,
And shrub, and bird,[1] and fish, from ocean stray'd."[2]

This [philosopher] maintained the transmutation of all souls into any description of animal. For Pythagoras, the instructor of these [sages],[3] asserted that himself had been Euphorbus, who served in the expedition against Ilium, alleging that he recognised his shield. The foregoing are the tenets of Empedocles.

Chapter IV.

Heraclitus—his Universal Dogmatism—his Theory of Flux—other Systems.

But Heraclitus, a natural philosopher of Ephesus, surrendered himself to universal grief, condemning the ignorance of the entire of life, and of all men; nay, commiserating the [very] existence of mortals, for he asserted that he himself knew everything, whereas the rest of mankind nothing.[4] But

[1] Or, "and beast," more in keeping with the sense of the name; or "a lamb" has been suggested in the Gottingen edition of Hippolytus.

[2] Or, "traveller into the sea;" or, "mute ones from the sea;" or, "from the sea a glittering fish."

[3] Or, "being the instructor of this [philosopher]."

[4] Proclus, in his commentary on Plato's *Timæus*, uses almost the same words: "but Heraclitus, in asserting his own universal knowledge, makes out all the rest of mankind ignorant."

he also advanced statements almost in concert with Empedocles, saying that the originating principle of all things is discord and friendship, and that the Deity is a fire endued with intelligence, and that all things are borne one upon another, and never are at a standstill; and just as Empedocles, he affirmed that the entire locality about us is full of evil things, and that these evil things reach as far as the moon, being extended from the quarter situated around the earth, and that they do not advance further, inasmuch as the entire space above the moon is more pure. So also it seemed to Heraclitus.

After these arose also other natural philosophers, whose opinions we have not deemed it necessary to declare, [inasmuch as] they present no diversity to those already specified. Since, however, upon the whole, a not inconsiderable school has sprung [from thence], and many natural philosophers subsequently have arisen from them, each advancing different accounts of the nature of the universe, it seems also to us advisable, that, explaining the philosophy that has come down by succession from Pythagoras, we should recur to the opinions entertained by those living after the time of Thales, and that, furnishing a narrative of these, we should approach the consideration of the ethical and logical philosophy which Socrates and Aristotle originated, the former ethical, and the latter logical [science].[1]

Chapter V.

Anaximander—his Theory of the Infinite—his Astronomic Opinions—his Physics.

Anaximander, then, was the hearer of Thales. Anaximander was son of Praxiadas, and a native of Miletus. This man said that the originating principle of existing things is a certain constitution of the Infinite, out of which the heavens are generated, and the worlds therein; and that this principle is eternal and undecaying, and comprising all

[1] Or, "and among these, Socrates a moral philosopher, and Aristotle a logician, originated systems."

the worlds. And he speaks of time as something of limited generation, and subsistence, and destruction. This person declared the Infinite to be an originating principle and element of existing things, being the first to employ such a denomination of the originating principle. But, moreover, he asserted that there is an eternal motion, by the agency of which it happens that the heavens[1] are generated; but that the earth is poised aloft, upheld by nothing, continuing [so] on account of its equal distance from all [the heavenly bodies]; and that the figure of it is curved, circular,[2] similar to a column of stone.[3] And one of the surfaces we tread upon, but the other is opposite.[4] And that the stars are a circle of fire, separated from the fire which is in the vicinity of the world, and encompassed by air. And that certain atmospheric exhalations arise in places where the stars shine; wherefore, also, when these exhalations are obstructed, that eclipses take place. And that the moon sometimes appears full and sometimes waning, according to the obstruction or opening of its [orbital] paths. But that the circle of the sun is twenty-seven times[5] larger than the moon, and that the sun is situated in the highest [quarter of the firmament]; whereas the orbs of the fixed stars in the lowest. And that animals are produced [in moisture[6]] by evaporation from the sun. And that man was, originally, similar to a different animal, that is, a fish. And that winds are caused by the separation of very rarified exhalations of the atmosphere, and by their motion after they have been condensed. And that rain arises from earth's giving back [the vapours which it receives] from the [clouds[7]] under the sun. And that there are flashes of lightning when the wind coming down severs the clouds. This person was born in the third year of the XLII. Olympiad.

[1] Or, "men." [2] Or, "moist." [3] Or, "congealed snow."

[4] That is, Antipodes. Diogenes Laertius was of opinion that Plato first indicated by name the Antipodes.

[5] Or, "727 times," an improbable reading.

[6] "In moisture" is properly added, as Plutarch, in his *De Placitis*, v. xix., remarks that "Anaximander affirms that primary animals were produced in moisture."

[7] This word seems requisite to the sense of the passage.

Chapter VI.

Anaximenes—his System of "an Infinite Air"—his Views of Astronomy and Natural Phenomena.

But Anaximenes, who himself was also a native of Miletus, and son of Eurystratus, affirmed that the originating principle is infinite air, out of which are generated things existing, those which have existed, and those that will be, as well as gods and divine [entities], and that the rest arise from the offspring of this. But that there is such a species of air, when it is most even, which is imperceptible to vision, but capable of being manifested by cold and heat, and moisture and motion, and that it is continually in motion; for that whatsoever things undergo alteration, do not change if there is not motion. For that it presents a different appearance according as it is condensed and attenuated, for when it is dissolved into what is more attenuated that fire is produced, and that when it is moderately condensed again into air that a cloud is formed from the air by virtue of the contraction;[1] but when condensed still more, water, [and] that when the condensation is carried still further, earth is formed; and when condensed to the very highest degree, stones. Wherefore, that the dominant principles of generation are contraries,—namely, heat and cold. And that the expanded earth is wafted along upon the air, and in like manner both sun and moon and the rest of the stars; for all things being of the nature of fire, are wafted about through the expanse of space, upon the air. And that the stars are produced from earth by reason of the mist which arises from this [globe]; and when this is attenuated, that fire is produced, and that the stars consist of the fire which is being borne aloft. But also that there are terrestrial natures in the region of the stars carried on along with them. And he says that the stars do not move under the earth, as some have supposed, but around the earth,[2] just as a cap is turned

[1] Or, "revolutionary motion."

[2] Plutarch, in his *De Placitis Philosophorum*, attributes both opinions

round our head; and that the sun is hid, not by being under the earth, but because covered by the higher portions of the earth, and on account of the greater distance that he is from us. But that the stars do not emit heat on account of the length of distance; and that the winds are produced when the condensed air, becoming rarified, is borne on; and that when collected and thickened still further, clouds are generated, and thus a change made into water. And that hail is produced when the water borne down from the clouds becomes congealed; and that snow is generated when these very clouds, being more moist, acquire congelation; and that lightning is caused when the clouds are parted by force of the winds; for when these are sundered there is produced a brilliant and fiery flash. And that a rainbow is produced by reason of the rays of the sun falling on the collected air. And that an earthquake takes place when the earth is altered into a larger [bulk] by heat and cold. These indeed, then, were the opinions of Anaximenes. This [philosopher] flourished about the first year of the LVIII. Olympiad.

Chapter VII.

Anaxagoras—his Theory of Mind—recognises an Efficient Cause—his Cosmogony and Astronomy.

After this [thinker] comes Anaxagoras,[1] son of Hegesibulus,[2] a native of Clazomenæ. This person affirmed the originating principle of the universe to be mind and matter; mind being the efficient cause, whereas matter that which was being formed. For all things coming into existence simultaneously, mind supervening introduced order. And material principles, he says, are infinite; even the smaller

to Anaximenes, viz. that the sun was moved both under and around the earth.

[1] Aristotle considers that Anaxagoras was the first to broach the existence of efficient causes in nature. He states, however, that Hermotimus received the credit of so doing at an earlier date.

[2] Or, Hegesephontus.

of these are infinite.[1] And that all things partake of motion by being moved by mind, and that similar bodies coalesce. And that celestial bodies were arranged by orbicular motion. That, therefore, what was thick and moist, and dark and cold, and all things heavy, came together into the centre, from the solidification of which earth derived support; but that the things opposite to these—namely, heat and brilliancy, and dryness and lightness—hurried impetuously into the farther portion of the atmosphere. And that the earth is in figure plane; and that it continues suspended aloft, by reason of its magnitude, and by reason of there being no vacuum, and by reason of the air, which was most powerful, bearing along the wafted earth. But that among moist substances on earth, was the sea, and the waters in it; and when these evaporated [from the sun], or had settled under, that the ocean was formed in this manner, as well as from the rivers that from time to time flow into it. And that the rivers also derive support from the rains and from the actual waters in the earth; for that this is hollow, and contains water in its caverns. And that the Nile is inundated in summer, by reason of the waters carried down into it from the snows in northern [latitudes].[2] And that the sun and moon and all the stars are fiery stones, that were rolled round by the rotation of the atmosphere. And that beneath the stars are sun and moon, and certain invisible bodies that are carried along with us; and that we have no perception of the heat of the stars, both on account of their being so far away, and on account of their distance from the earth; and further, they are not to the same degree hot as the sun, on account of their occupying a colder situation. And that the moon, being lower than the sun, is nearer us.

[1] Simplicius, in his *Commentary on Aristotle's Physics*, where (book i. c. 2) Anaxagoras is spoken of, says that the latter maintained that "all things existed simultaneously—infinite things, and plurality, and diminutiveness, for even what was diminutive was infinite." (See Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, iii. 4, Macmahon's translation, p. 93.) This explains Hippolytus' remark, while it suggests an emendation of the text.

[2] Or, "in the Antipodes;" or, "from the snow in Æthiopia."

And that the sun surpasses the Peloponnesus in size. And that the moon has not light of its own, but from the sun. But that the revolution of the stars takes place under the earth. And that the moon is eclipsed when the earth is interposed, and occasionally also those [stars] that are underneath the moon. And that the sun [is eclipsed] when, at the beginning of the month, the moon is interposed. And that the solstices are caused by both sun and moon being repulsed by the air. And that the moon is often turned, by its not being able to make head against the cold. This person was the first to frame definitions regarding eclipses and illuminations. And he affirmed that the moon is earthy, and has in it plains and ravines. And that the milky way is a reflection of the light of the stars which do not derive their radiance from the sun;[1] and that the stars, coursing [the firmament] as shooting sparks, arise out of the motion of the pole. And that winds are caused when the atmosphere is rarified by the sun, and by those burning orbs that advance under the pole, and are borne from [it]. And that thunder and lightning are caused by heat falling on the clouds. And that earthquakes are produced by the air above falling on that under the earth; for when this is moved, that the earth also, being wafted by it, is shaken. And that animals originally came into existence[2] in moisture, and after this one from another; and that males are procreated when the seed secreted from the right parts adhered to the right parts of the womb, and that females are born when the contrary took place. This philosopher flourished in the first year of the LXXXVIII. Olympiad, at which time they say that Plato also was born. They maintain that Anaxagoras was likewise prescient.

[1] Or, "overpowered by the sun," that is, whose light was lost in the superior brilliancy of the sun.

[2] Or, "were generated."

Chapter VIII.

Archelaus—System akin to that of Anaxagoras—his Origin of the Earth and of Animals—other Systems.

Archelaus was by birth an Athenian, and son of Apollodorus. This person, similarly with Anaxagoras, asserted the mixture of matter, and enunciated his first principles in the same manner. This philosopher, however, held that there is inherent immediately in mind a certain mixture; and that the originating principle of motion is the mutual separation of heat and cold, and that the heat is moved, and that the cold remains at rest. And that the water being dissolved, flows towards the centre, where the scorched air and earth are produced, of which the one is borne upwards and the other remains beneath. And that the earth is at rest, and that on this account it came into existence; and that it lies in the centre, being no part, so to speak, of the universe, delivered from the conflagration; and that from this, first in a state of ignition, is the nature of the stars, of which indeed the largest is the sun, and next to this the moon; and of the rest some less, but some greater. And he says that the heaven was inclined at an angle, and so that the sun diffused light over the earth, and made the atmosphere transparent, and the ground dry; for that at first it was a sea, inasmuch as it is lofty at the horizon and hollow in the middle. And he adduces, as an indication of the hollowness, that the sun does not rise and set to all at the same time, which ought to happen if the earth was even. And with regard to animals, he affirms that the earth, being originally fire in its lower part, where the heat and cold were intermingled, both the rest of animals made their appearance, numerous and dissimilar,[1] all having the same food, being nourished from mud; and their existence was of short duration, but afterwards also generation from one another arose unto them; and men were separated from the rest [of the animal creation], and they appointed rulers, and laws, and arts, and cities, and the rest. And he asserts

[1] Or, "both many of the rest of the animal kingdom, and man himself." (See Diogenes Laertius' *Lives*, ii. 17.)

that mind is innate in all animals alike; for that each, according to the difference of their physical constitution, employed [mind], at one time slower, at another faster.[1]

Natural philosophy, then, continued from Thales until Archelaus. Socrates was the hearer of this [latter philosopher]. There are, however, also very many others, introducing various opinions respecting both the divinity and the nature of the universe; and if we were disposed to adduce all the opinions of these, it would be necessary to compose a vast quantity of books. But, reminding the reader of those whom we especially ought—who are deserving of mention from their fame, and from being, so to speak, the leaders to those who have subsequently framed systems of philosophy, and from their supplying them with a starting-point towards such undertakings—let us hasten on our investigations towards what remains for consideration.

Chapter IX.

Parmenides—his Theory of "Unity"—his Eschatology.

For Parmenides likewise supposes the universe to be one, both eternal and unbegotten, and of a spherical form. And neither did he escape the opinion of the great body [of speculators], affirming fire and earth to be the originating principles of the universe—the earth as matter, but the fire as cause, even an efficient one. He asserted that the world would be destroyed, but in what way he does not mention.[2] The same [philosopher], however, affirmed the universe to be eternal, and not generated, and of spherical form and homogeneous, but not having a figure in itself, and immoveable and limited.

[1] There is some confusion in the text here, but the rendering given above, though conjectural, is highly probable. One proposed emendation would make the passage run thus: "for that each body employed mind, sometimes slower, sometimes faster."

[2] The next sentence is regarded by some as not genuine.

Chapter X.

Leucippus—his Atomic Theory.

But Leucippus, an associate of Zeno, did not maintain the same opinion, but affirms things to be infinite, and always in motion, and that generation and change exist continuously. And he affirms plenitude and vacuum to be elements. And he asserts that worlds are produced when many bodies are congregated and flow together from the surrounding space to a common point, so that by mutual contact they made substances of the same figure and similar in form come into connection; and when thus intertwined,[1] there are transmutations into other bodies, and that created things wax and wane through necessity. But what the nature of necessity is, [Parmenides] did not define.

Chapter XI.

Democritus—his Duality of Principles—his Cosmogony.

And Democritus was an acquaintance of Leucippus. Democritus, son of Damasippus, a native of Abdera,[2] conferring with many gymnosophists among the Indians, and with priests in Egypt, and with astrologers and magi in Babylon, [propounded his system]. Now he makes statements similarly with Leucippus concerning elements, viz. plenitude and vacuum, denominating plenitude entity, and vacuum non-entity; and this he asserted, since existing things are continually moved in the vacuum. And he maintained worlds to be infinite, and varying in bulk; and that in some there is neither sun nor moon, while in others that they are larger than with us, and with others more numerous. And that intervals between worlds are unequal; and that in one quarter of space [worlds] are more numerous, and in another less so; and that some of them increase in bulk, but that others attain their full size, while others dwindle away; and that

[1] Or, "when again mutually connected, that different entities were generated." (See Diogenes Laertius' *Lives*, ix. 30–32.)

[2] Or, "Audera."

in one quarter they are coming into existence, whilst in another they are failing; and that they are destroyed by clashing one with another. And that some worlds are destitute of animals and plants, and every species of moisture. And that the earth of our world was created before that of the stars, and that the moon is underneath; next [to it] the sun; then the fixed stars. And that [neither] the planets nor these [fixed stars] possess an equal elevation. And that the world flourishes, until no longer it can receive anything from without. This [philosopher] turned all things into ridicule, as if all the concerns of humanity were deserving of laughter.

Chapter XII.

Xenophanes—his Scepticism—his Notions of God and Nature—believes in a Flood.

But Xenophanes, a native of Colophon, was son of Orthomenes. This man survived to the time of Cyrus. This [philosopher] first asserted that there is no possibility of comprehending anything, expressing himself thus:

> "For if for the most part of perfection man may speak,
> Yet he knows it not himself, and in all attains surmise."

And he affirms that nothing is generated or perishes, or is moved; and that the universe being one, is beyond change. But he says that the deity is eternal, and one and altogether homogeneous and limited, and of a spherical form, and endued with perception in all parts. And that the sun exists during each day from a conglomeration of small sparks, and that the earth is infinite, and is surrounded neither by an atmosphere nor by the heaven. And that there are infinite suns and moons, and that all things spring from earth. This man affirmed that the sea is salt, on account of the many mixtures that flow into it. Metrodorus, however, from the fact of its being filtered through earth, asserts that it is on account of this that it is made salt. And Xenophanes is of opinion that there had been a mixture of the earth with the sea, and that in process of time it was disengaged from the moisture,

alleging that he could produce such proofs as the following: that in the midst of earth, and in mountains, shells are discovered; and also in Syracuse he affirms was found in the quarries the print of a fish and of seals, and in Paros an image of a laurel[1] in the bottom of a stone, and in Melita[2] parts of all sorts of marine animals. And he says that these were generated when all things originally were embedded in mud, and that an impression of them was dried in the mud, but that all men had perished[3] when the earth, being precipitated into the sea, was converted into mud; then, again, that it originated generation, and that this overthrow occurred to all worlds.

Chapter XIII.

Ecphantus—his Scepticism—Tenet of Infinity.

One Ecphantus, a native of Syracuse, affirmed that it is not possible to attain a true knowledge of things. He defines, however, as he thinks, primary bodies to be indivisible,[4] and that there are three variations of these, viz. bulk, figure, capacity, from which are generated the objects of sense. But that there is a determinable multitude of these, and that this is infinite.[5] And that bodies are moved neither by weight nor by impact, but by divine power, which he calls mind and soul; and that of this the world is a representation; wherefore also it has been made in the form of a sphere by divine power.[6] And that the earth in the middle of the cosmical system is moved round its own centre towards the east.

[1] Or, "anchovy."

[2] Or, "Melitus."

[3] The textual reading is in the present, but obviously requires a past tense.

[4] Some confusion has crept into the text. The first clause of the second sentence belongs probably to the first. The sense would then run thus: "Ecphantus affirmed the impossibility of dogmatic truth, for that every one was permitted to frame definitions as he thought proper."

[5] Or, "that there is, according to this, a multitude of defined existences, and that such is infinite."

[6] Or, "a single power."

Chapter XIV.

Hippo—his Duality of Principles—his Psychology.

Hippo, a native of Rhegium, asserted as originating principles, coldness, for instance water, and heat, for instance fire. And that fire, when produced by water, subdued the power of its generator, and formed the world. And the soul, he said, is[1] sometimes brain, but sometimes water; for that also the seed is that which appears to us to arise out of moisture, from which, he says, the soul is produced.

So far, then, we think we have sufficiently adduced [the opinions of] these; wherefore, inasmuch as we have adequately gone in review through the tenets of physical speculators, it seems to remain that we now turn to Socrates and Plato, who gave especial preference to moral philosophy.

Chapter XV.

Socrates—his Philosophy reproduced by Plato.

Socrates, then, was a hearer of Archelaus, the natural philosopher; and he, reverencing the rule, "Know thyself," and having assembled a large school, had Plato [there], who was far superior to all his pupils. [Socrates] himself left no writings[2] after him. Plato, however, taking notes[3] of all his [lectures on] wisdom, established a school, combining together natural, ethical, [and] logical [philosophy]. But the points Plato determined are these following.

[1] Or, "holds."

[2] Or, "writing." Still Socrates may be called the father of Greek philosophy. "From the age of Aristotle and Plato, the rise of the several Greek sects may be estimated as so many successful or abortive efforts to carry out the principles enunciated by Socrates."—*Translator's Treatise on Metaphysics*, chap. iii. p. 45.

[3] This word signifies to take impressions from anything, which justifies the translation, historically correct, given above. Its literal import is "wipe clean," and in this sense Hippolytus may intend to assert that Plato wholly appropriated the philosophy of Socrates. (See Diogenes Laertius, xi. 61, where the same word occurs.)

Chapter XVI.

Plato—Threefold Classification of Principles—his Idea of God—different Opinions regarding his Theology and Psychology—his Eschatology and System of Metempsychosis—his Ethical Doctrines—Notions on the Freewill Question.

Plato [lays down] that there are three originating principles of the universe, [namely] God, and matter, and exemplar; God as the Maker and Regulator of this universe, and the Being who exercises providence over it; but matter, as that which underlies all [phenomena], which [matter] he styles both receptive and a nurse, out of the arrangement of which proceeded the four elements of which the world consists; [I mean] fire, air, earth, water, from which all the rest of what are denominated concrete substances, as well as animals and plants, have been formed. And that the exemplar, which he likewise calls ideas, is the intelligence of the Deity, to which, as to an image in the soul, the Deity attending, fabricated all things. God, he says, is both incorporeal and shapeless, and comprehensible by wise men solely; whereas matter is body potentially, but with potentiality not as yet passing into action, for being itself without form and without quality, by assuming forms and qualities, it became body. That matter, therefore, is an originating principle, and coeval with the Deity, and that in this respect the world is uncreated. For [Plato] affirms that [the world] was made out of it. And that [the attribute of] imperishableness necessarily belongs to (literally "follows") that which is uncreated. So far forth, however, as body is supposed to be compounded out of both many qualities and ideas, so far forth it is both created and perishable. But some of the followers of Plato mingled both of these, employing some such example as the following: That as a waggon can always continue undestroyed, though undergoing partial repairs from time to time, so that even the parts each in turn perish, yet itself remains always complete; so after this manner the world also, although in parts it perishes, yet the things that

are removed, being repaired, and equivalents for them being introduced, it remains eternal.

Some maintain that Plato asserts the Deity to be one, ingenerable and incorruptible, as he says in *The Laws:*[1] "God, therefore, as the ancient account has it, possesses both the beginning, and end, and middle of all things." Thus he shows God to be one, on account of His having pervaded all things. Others, however, maintain that Plato affirms the existence of many gods indefinitely, when he uses these words: "God of gods, of whom I am both the Creator and Father."[2] But others say that he speaks of a definite number of deities in the following passage: "Therefore the mighty Jupiter, wheeling his swift chariot in heaven;" and when he enumerates the offspring of the children of heaven and earth. But others assert that [Plato] constituted the gods as generable; and on account of their having been produced, that altogether they were subject to the necessity of corruption, but that on account of the will of God they are immortal, [maintaining this] in the passage already quoted, where, to the words, "God of gods, of whom I am Creator and Father," he adds, "indissoluble through the fiat of my will;" so that if [God] were disposed that these should be dissolved, they would easily be dissolved.

And he admits natures [such as those] of demons, and says that some of them are good, but others worthless. And some affirm that he states the soul to be uncreated and immortal, when he uses the following words, "Every soul is immortal, for that which is always moved is immortal;" and when he demonstrates that the soul is self-moved, and capable of originating motion. Others, however, [say that Plato asserted that the soul was] created, but rendered imperishable through the will of God. But some [will have it that he considered the soul] a composite [essence], and generable

[1] *De Legibus*, iv. 7 (p. 109, vol. viii. ed. Bekker.)

[2] *Timæus*, c. xvi. (p. 277, vol. vii. ed. Bekker). The passage runs thus in the original: "Gods of gods, of whom I am Creator and Father of works, which having been formed by me, are indissoluble, through, at all events, my will."

and corruptible; for even he supposes that there is a receptacle for it,[1] and that it possesses a luminous body, but that everything generated involves a necessity of corruption.[2] Those, however, who assert the immortality of the soul are especially strengthened in their opinion by those passages[3] [in Plato's writings], where he says, that both there are judgments after death, and tribunals of justice in Hades, and that the virtuous [souls] receive a good reward, while the wicked [ones] suitable punishment. Some notwithstanding assert, that he also acknowledges a transition of souls from one body to another, and that different souls, those that were marked out for such a purpose, pass into different bodies,[4] according to the desert of each, and that after[5] certain definite periods they are sent up into this world to furnish once more a proof of their choice. Others, however, [do not admit this to be his doctrine, but will have it that Plato affirms that the souls] obtain a place according to the desert of each; and they employ as a testimony the saying of his, that some good men are with Jove, and that others are ranging abroad [through heaven] with other gods; whereas that others are involved in eternal punishments, as many as during this life have committed wicked and unjust deeds.

And people affirm that Plato says, that some things are without a mean, that others have a mean, that others are a mean. [For example, that] waking and sleep, and such like, are conditions without an intermediate state; but that there are things that had means, for instance virtue and vice; and there are means [between extremes], for instance grey between white and black, or some other colour. And they

[1] The word is literally a cup or bowl, and being employed by Plato in an allegorical sense, is evidently intended to signify the *anima mundi* (soul of the world), which constituted a sort of depository for all spiritual existences in the world.

[2] Or, "that there exists a necessity for the corruption of everything created."

[3] Or, "are confirmed by that [philosopher Plato], because he asserts," etc.; or, "those who assert the soul's immortality are especially confirmed in their opinion, as many as affirm the existence of a future state of retribution."

[4] Or, "that he changes different souls," etc. [5] Or, "during."

say, that he affirms that the things pertaining to the soul are absolutely alone good, but that the things pertaining to the body, and those external [to it], are not any longer absolutely good, but reputed blessings. And that frequently he names these means also, for that it is possible to use them both well and ill. Some virtues, therefore, he says, are extremes in regard of intrinsic worth, but in regard of their essential nature means, for nothing is more estimable than virtue. But whatever excels or falls short of these terminates in vice. For instance, he says that there are four virtues—prudence, temperance, justice, fortitude—and that on each of these is attendant two vices, according to excess and defect: for example, on prudence, recklessness according to defect, and knavery according to excess; and on temperance, licentiousness according to defect, stupidity according to excess; and on justice, foregoing a claim according to defect, unduly pressing it according to excess; and on fortitude, cowardice according to defect, foolhardiness according to excess. And that these virtues, when inherent in a man, render him perfect, and afford him happiness. And happiness, he says, is assimilation to the Deity, as far as this is possible; and that assimilation to God takes place when any one combines holiness and justice with prudence. For this he supposes the end of supreme wisdom and virtue. And he affirms that the virtues follow one another in turn,[1] and are uniform, and are never antagonistic to each other; whereas that vices are multiform, and sometimes follow one the other, and sometimes are antagonistic to each other. He asserts that fate exists; not, to be sure, that all things are produced according to fate, but that there is even something in our power, as in the passages where he says, "The fault is his who chooses, God is blameless;" and "the following law[2] of Adrasteia."[3]

[1] Diogenes Laertius, in describing the system of the Stoics, employs the same word in the case of their view of virtue.

[2] This is supplied from the original; the passage occurs in the *Phædrus*, c. lx. (p. 86, vol. i. ed. Bekker).

[3] The word Adrasteia was a name for Nemesis, and means here unalterable destiny.

And thus some [contend for his upholding] a system of fate, whereas others one of free-will. He asserts, however, that sins are involuntary. For into what is most glorious of the things in our power, which is the soul, no one would [deliberately] admit what is vicious, that is, transgression, but that from ignorance and an erroneous conception of virtue, supposing that they were achieving something honourable, they pass into vice. And his doctrine on this point is most clear in *The Republic*,[1] where he says, "But, again, you presume to assert that vice is disgraceful and abhorred of God; how then, I may ask, would one choose such an evil thing? He, you reply, [would do so] who is worsted by pleasures.[2] Therefore this also is involuntary, if to gain a victory be voluntary; so that, in every point of view, the committing an act of turpitude, reason proves[3] to be involuntary." Some one, however, in opposition to this [Plato], advances the contrary statement, "Why then are men punished if they sin involuntarily?" But he replies, that he himself also, as soon as possible, may be emancipated from vice, and undergo punishment. For that the undergoing punishment is not an evil, but a good thing, if it is likely to prove a purification of evils; and that the rest of mankind, hearing of it, may not transgress, but guard against such an error. [Plato, however, maintains] that the nature of evil is neither created by the Deity, nor possesses subsistence of itself, but that it derives existence from contrariety to what is good, and from attendance upon it, either by excess and defect, as we have previously affirmed concerning the virtues. Plato unquestionably then, as we have already stated, collecting together the three departments of universal philosophy, in this manner formed his speculative system.

[1] The passage occurs in *Clitophon* (p. 244, vol. vi. ed. Bekker).

[2] The text, as given by Miller, is scarcely capable of any meaning. The translation is therefore conjectural, in accordance with alterations proposed by Schneidewin.

[3] Or, "declares."

Chapter XVII.

Aristotle—Duality of Principles—his Categories—his Psychology—his Ethical Doctrines—Origin of the Epithet "Peripatetic."

Aristotle, who was a pupil of this [Plato], reduced philosophy into an art, and was distinguished rather for his proficiency in logical science, supposing as the elements of all things substance and accident; that there is one substance underlying all things, but nine accidents,—namely, quantity, quality, relation, where, when, possession, posture, action, passion; and that substance is of some such description as God, man, and each of the beings that can fall under a similar denomination. But in regard of accidents, quality is seen in, for instance, white, black; and quantity, for instance two cubits, three cubits; and relation, for instance father, son; and where, for instance at Athens, Megara; and when, for instance during the tenth Olympiad; and possession, for instance to have acquired; and action, for instance to write, and in general to evince any practical powers; and posture, for instance to lie down; and passion, for instance to be struck. He also supposes that some things have means, but that others are without means, as we have declared concerning Plato likewise. And in most points he is in agreement with Plato, except the opinion concerning soul. For Plato affirms it to be immortal, but Aristotle that it involves permanence; and after these things, that this also vanishes in the fifth body,[1] which he supposes, along with the other four [elements],—viz. fire, and earth, and water, and air,—to be a something more subtle [than these], of the nature of spirit. Plato therefore says, that the only really good things are those pertaining to the soul, and that they are sufficient for happiness; whereas Aristotle introduces a threefold classification of good things, and asserts that the wise man is not perfect, unless there are present to him both the

[1] Or, "the fifth body, in which it is supposed to be, along with the other four [elements];" or, "the fifth body, which is supposed to be [composed] of the other four."

good things of the body and those extrinsic to it.[1] The former are beauty, strength, vigour of the senses, soundness; while the things extrinsic [to the body] are wealth, nobility, glory, power, peace, friendship.[2] And the inner qualities of the soul he classifies, as it was the opinion of Plato, under prudence, temperance, justice, fortitude. This [philosopher] also affirms that evils arise according to an opposition of the things that are good, and that they exist beneath the quarter around the moon, but reach no farther beyond the moon; and that the soul of the entire world is immortal, and that the world itself is eternal, but that [the soul] in an individual, as we have before stated, vanishes [in the fifth body]. This [speculator], then holding discussions in the Lyceum, drew up from time to time his system of philosophy; but Zeno [held his school] in the porch called *Poecilé*. And the followers of Zeno obtained their name from the place—that is, from *Stoa*—[*i.e.* a porch], being styled Stoics; whereas Aristotle's followers [were denominated] from their mode of employing themselves while teaching. For since they were accustomed walking about in the Lyceum to pursue their investigations, on this account they were called Peripatetics. These indeed, then, were the doctrines of Aristotle.

Chapter XVIII.

The Stoics—their Superiority in Logic—Fatalists—their Doctrine of Conflagrations.

The Stoics themselves also imparted growth to philosophy, in respect of a greater development of the art of syllogism, and included almost everything under definitions, both Chrysippus and Zeno being coincident in opinion on this point. And they likewise supposed God to be the one originating principle of all things, being a body of the utmost refinement, and that His providential care pervaded everything;

[1] Hippolytus expresses himself in the words of Stobæus, who says (*Eclog.* ii. 274): "And among reputed external blessings are nobility, wealth, glory, peace, freedom, friendship."

[2] Or, "glory, the confirmed power of friends."

and these speculators were positive about the existence of fate everywhere, employing some such example as the following: that just as a dog, supposing him attached to a car, if indeed he is disposed to follow, both is drawn,[1] or follows voluntarily, making an exercise also of free power, in combination with necessity, that is, fate; but if he may not be disposed to follow, he will altogether be coerced to do so. And the same, of course, holds good in the case of men. For though not willing to follow, they will altogether be compelled to enter upon what has been decreed for them. [The Stoics], however, assert that the soul abides after death,[2] but that it is a body, and that such is formed from the refrigeration of the surrounding atmosphere; wherefore, also, that it was called *psyche* (*i.e.* soul). And they acknowledge likewise, that there is a transition of souls from one body to another, that is, for those souls for whom this migration has been destined. And they accept the doctrine, that there will be a conflagration, a purification of this world, some say the entire of it, but others a portion, and that [the world] itself is undergoing partial destruction; and this all but corruption, and the generation from it of another world, they term purgation. And they assume the existence of all bodies, and that body does not pass through body,[3] but that a refraction[4] takes place, and that all things involve plenitude, and that there is no vacuum. The foregoing are the opinions of the Stoics also.

[1] One of the MSS. elucidates the simile in the text thus: "But if he is not disposed, there is absolutely a necessity for his being drawn along. And in like manner men, if they do not follow fate, seem to be free agents, though the reason of [their being] fate holds assuredly valid. If, however, they do not wish to follow, they will absolutely be coerced to enter upon what has been fore-ordained."

[2] Or, "is immortal." Diogenes Laertius (book vii.) notices, in his section on Zeno, as part of the Stoic doctrine, "that the soul abides after death, but that it is perishable."

[3] Or, "through what is incorporeal;" that is, through what is void or empty space.

[4] Or, "resurrection;" or, "resistance;" that is, a resisting medium.

Chapter XIX.

Epicurus—adopts the Democritic Atomism—Denial of Divine Providence—the Principle of his Ethical System.

Epicurus, however, advanced an opinion almost contrary to all. He supposed, as originating principles of all things, atoms and vacuity.[1] He considered vacuity as the place that would contain the things that will exist, and atoms the matter out of which all things could be formed; and that from the concourse of atoms both the Deity derived existence, and all the elements, and all things inherent in them, as well as animals and other [creatures]; so that nothing was generated or existed, unless it be from atoms. And he affirmed that these atoms were composed of extremely small particles, in which there could not exist either a point or a sign, or any division; wherefore also he called them atoms. And acknowledging the Deity to be eternal and incorruptible, he says that God has providential care for nothing, and that there is no such thing at all as providence or fate, but that all things are made by chance. For that the Deity reposed in the intermundane spaces, [as they] are thus styled by him; for outside the world he determined that there is a certain habitation of God, denominated "the intermundane spaces," and that the Deity surrendered himself to pleasure, and took his ease in the midst of supreme happiness; and that neither has he any concerns of business, nor does he devote his attention to them.[2] As a consequence on these opinions, he also propounded his theory concerning wise men, asserting that the end of wisdom is pleasure. Different persons, however, received the term "pleasure" in different acceptations;

[1] The atomic theory is, as already mentioned by Hippolytus, of more ancient date than Epicurus' age, being first broached by Leucippus and Democritus. This fact, however, has, as Cudworth argues, been frequently overlooked by those who trace the doctrine to no older a source than the founder of the Epicurean philosophy.

[2] Or, "that neither has he business to do, nor does he attend to any. As a consequence of which fact," etc.

for some [among the Gentiles[1] understood] the passions, but others the satisfaction resulting from virtue. And he concluded that the souls of men are dissolved along with their bodies, just as also they were produced along with them, for that they are blood, and that when this has gone forth or been altered, the entire man perishes; and in keeping with this tenet, [Epicurus maintained] that there are neither trials in Hades, nor tribunals of justice; so that whatsoever any one may commit in this life, that, provided he may escape detection, he is altogether beyond any liability of trial [for it in a future state]. In this way, then, Epicurus also formed his opinions.

Chapter XX.

The Academics—Difference of Opinion among them.

And another opinion of the philosophers was called that of the Academics,[2] on account of those holding their discussions in the Academy, of whom the founder Pyrrho, from whom they were called Pyrrhonean philosophers, first introduced the notion of the incomprehensibility of all things, so as to [be ready to] attempt an argument on either side of a question, but not to assert anything for certain; for that there is nothing of things intelligible or sensible true, but that they appear to men to be so; and that all substance is in a state of flux and change, and never continues in the same [condition]. Some followers, then, of the Academics say that one ought not to declare an opinion on the principle of anything, but simply making the attempt to give it up; whereas others subjoined the formulary "not rather"[3] [this than

[1] "Among the Gentiles" seems a mistake. One reading proposed is, "some [intended] our sensuous passions;" or, "some understood the passions." The words "among the Gentiles," the French commentator, the Abbe Cruice, is of opinion, were added by Christian hands, in order to draw a contrast between the virtuous Christian and the vicious pagan.

[2] See Diogenes Laertius' *Lives*, x. 63 (Bohn's Library); Plutarch, *De Placitis Philosophorum*, iv. 3.

[3] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, ix. 75; Sextus Empiricus, *Hypotyp.* i. 188–192.

that], saying that the fire is not rather fire than anything else. But they did not declare what this is, but what sort it is.[1]

Chapter XXI.

The Brachmans—their Mode of Life—Ideas of Deity—different Sorts of —their Ethical Notions.

But there is also with the Indians a sect composed of those philosophizing among the Brachmans. They spend a contented existence, abstain both from living creatures and all cooked food, being satisfied with fruits; and not gathering these from the trees, but carrying off those that have fallen to the earth. They subsist upon them, drinking the water of the river Tazabena.[2] But they pass their life naked, affirming that the body has been constituted a covering to the soul by the Deity. These affirm that God is light, not such as one sees, nor such as the sun and fire; but to them the Deity is discourse, not that which finds expression in articulate sounds, but that of the knowledge through which the secret mysteries of nature[3] are perceived by the wise. And this light which they say is discourse, their god, they assert that the Brachmans only know on account of their alone rejecting all vanity of opinion which is the soul's ultimate covering.[4] These despise death, and always in their own peculiar language[5] call God by the name which we have mentioned previously, and they send up hymns [to him]. But neither are there women among them, nor do they beget children. But they who aim at a life similar to these, after they have

[1] This is what the Academics called "the phenomenon" (Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. 19–22).

[2] This is a mistake in the manuscript for Ganges, according to Roeper.

[3] Or, "knowledge." (See Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* i. xv. lxxii.; Eusebius, *Præparat. Evang.* ix. 6.)

[4] Athenæus (*Deipn.* book ix.) ascribes this opinion to Plato, who, he tells us, "asserted that the soul was so constituted, that it should reject its last covering, that of vanity."

[5] Or, "they name light their god;" or, "they celebrate in their own peculiar language God, whom they name," etc.

crossed over to the country on the opposite side of the river, continue to reside there, returning no more; and these also are called Brachmans. But they do not pass their life similarly, for there are also in the place women, of whom those that dwell there are born, and in turn beget children. And this discourse which[1] they name God they assert to be corporeal, and enveloped in a body outside himself, just as if one were wearing a sheep's skin, but that on divesting himself of body that he would appear clear to the eye. But the Brachmans say that there is a conflict in the body that surrounds them, [and they consider that the body is for them full of conflicts];[2] in opposition to which, as if marshalled for battle against enemies, they contend, as we have already explained. And they say that all men are captive to their own congenital struggles, viz. sensuality and inchastity, gluttony, anger, joy, sorrow, concupiscence, and such like. And he who has reared a trophy over these, alone goes to God; wherefore the Brachmans deify Dandamis, to whom Alexander the Macedonian paid a visit, as one who had proved victorious in the bodily conflict. But they bear down on Calanus as having profanely withdrawn from their philosophy. But the Brachmans, putting off the body, like fishes jumping out of water into the pure air, behold the sun.

[1] The text here would seem rather confused. The above translation agrees with Cruice's and Schneidewin's Latin version. I have doubts about its correctness, however, and would render it thus: ". . . . . enveloped in a body extrinsic to the divine essence, just as if one wore a sheepskin covering; but that his body, on being divested of this [covering], would appear visible to the naked eye." Or, "This discourse whom they name God they affirm to be incorporeal, but enveloped in a body outside himself [or his own body] (just as if one carried a covering of sheepskin to have it seen); but having stripped off the body in which he is enveloped, that he no longer appears visibly to the naked eye." (Roeper.) I am not very confident that this exactly conveys the meaning of Roeper's somewhat obscure Greek paraphrase.

[2] The words with brackets Roeper considers introduced into the text from a marginal note.

Chapter XXII.

The Druids—Progenitors of their System.

And the Celtic Druids investigated to the very highest point the Pythagorean philosophy, after Zamolxis,[1] by birth a Thracian,[2] a servant of Pythagoras, became to them the originator of this discipline. Now after the death of Pythagoras, Zamolxis, repairing thither, became to them the originator of this philosophy. The Celts esteem these as prophets and seers, on account of their foretelling to them certain [events], from calculations and numbers by the Pythagorean art; on the methods of which very art also we shall not keep silence, since also from these some have presumed to introduce heresies; but the Druids resort to magical rites likewise.

Chapter XXIII.

Hesiod — the Nine Muses — the Hesiodic Cosmogony — the Ancient Speculators, Materialists—derivative Character of the Heresies from Heathen Philosophy.

But Hesiod the poet asserts himself also that he thus heard from the Muses concerning nature, and that the Muses are the daughters of Jupiter. For when for nine nights and days together, Jupiter, through excess of passion, had uninterruptedly lain with Mnemosyne, that Mnemosyne conceived in one womb those nine Muses, becoming pregnant with one during each night. Having then summoned the nine Muses from Pieria, that is, Olympus, he exhorted them to undergo instruction:

"How first both gods and earth were made,[3]
And rivers, and boundless deep, and ocean's surge,

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[1] Or "Zamalxis," or "Zametris" (see Menagius on Diogenes Laertius, viii. 2).

[2] Or, "of Thracian origin." The words are omitted in two MSS.

[3] There are several verbal differences from the original in Hippolytus' version. These may be seen on comparing it with Hesiod's own text. The particular place which Hesiod occupies in the history of philosophy

And glittering stars, and spacious heaven above;
How they grasped the crown and shared the glory,
And how at first they held the many-valed Olympus.
These [truths], ye Muses, tell me of, saith he,
From first, and next which of them first arose.
Chaos, no doubt, the very first, arose; but next
Wide-stretching Earth, ever the throne secure of all
Immortals, who hold the peaks of white Olympus;
And breezy Tartarus in wide earth's recess;
And Love, who is most beauteous of the gods immortal,
Chasing care away from all the gods and men,
Quells in breasts the mind and counsel sage.
But Erebus from Chaos and gloomy Night arose;
And, in turn, from Night both Air and Day were born;
But primal Earth, equal to self in sooth begot
The stormy sky to veil it round on every side,
Ever to be for happy gods a throne secure.
And forth she brought the towering hills, the pleasant haunts
Of nymphs who dwell throughout the woody heights.
And also barren Sea begat the surge-tossed
Flood, apart from luscious Love; but next
Embracing Heaven, she Ocean bred with eddies deep,
And Cæus, and Crius, and Hyperion, and Iapetus,
And Thia, and Rhea, and Themis, and Mnemosyne,
And gold-crowned Phœbe, and comely Tethys.
But after these was born last[1] the wily Cronus,
Fiercest of sons; but he abhorred his blooming sire,
And in turn the Cyclops bred, who owned a savage breast."

And all the rest of the giants from Cronus, Hesiod enumerates, and somewhere afterwards that Jupiter was born of Rhea. All these, then, made the foregoing statements in their doctrine regarding both the nature and generation of the universe. But all, sinking below what is divine, busied themselves concerning the substance of existing things,[2] being

is pointed out by Aristotle in his *Metaphysics*. The Stagyrite detects in the Hesiodic cosmogony, in the principle of "love," the dawn of a recognition of the necessity of an efficient cause to account for the phenomena of nature. It was Aristotle himself, however, who built up the science of causation; and in this respect humanity owes that extraordinary man a deep debt of gratitude.

[1] Or "youngest," or "most vigorous." This is Hesiod's word, which signifies literally, "fittest for bearing arms" (for service, as we say).

[2] "The majority of those who first formed systems of philosophy, con-

astonished at the magnitude of creation, and supposing that it constituted the Deity, each speculator selecting in preference a different portion of the world; failing, however, to discern the God and maker of these.

The opinions, therefore, of those who have attempted to frame systems of philosophy among the Greeks, I consider that we have sufficiently explained; and from these the heretics, taking occasion, have endeavoured to establish the tenets that will be after a short time declared. It seems, however, expedient, that first explaining the mystical rites and whatever imaginary doctrines some have laboriously framed concerning the stars, or magnitudes, to declare these; for heretics likewise, taking occasion from them, are considered by the multitude to utter prodigies. Next in order we shall elucidate the feeble opinions advanced by these.

sider those that subsist in a form of matter, to be alone the principle of all things."—Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, book i. c. iii. p. 13 (Bohn's ed.).

BOOK IV.[1]

OF THE

REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES.

CHAPTER I.

System of the Astrologers—Sidereal Influence—Configuration of the Stars.

BUT in each zodiacal sign they call limits of the stars those in which each of the stars, from any one quarter to another, can exert the greatest amount of influence; in regard of which there is among them, according to their writings, no mere casual divergency of opinion. But they say that the stars are attended as if by satellites when they are in the midst of other stars, in continuity with the signs of the Zodiac; as if, when any particular star may have occupied the first portions of the same sign of the Zodiac, and another the last, and another those portions in the middle, that which is in the middle is said to be guarded by those holding the portions at the extremities. And they are said to look upon one another, and to be in conjunction with one another, as if appearing in a triangular or quadrangular figure. They assume, therefore, the figure of a triangle, and look upon one another, which have an intervening distance[2]

[1] The beginning of this book is evidently missing. Even the sentence with which what remains of it begins is imperfect. The deficiency is supplied here and elsewhere from Sextus Empiricus, whom Hippolytus has compiled from. (See Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Astrologos*, v. 37.)

[2] Or, "interval."

extending for three zodiacal signs; and they assume the figure of a square those which have an interval extending for two signs. But as the underlying parts sympathize with the head, and the head with the underlying parts,[1] so also things terrestrial with superlunar objects.[2] But there is of these a certain difference and want of sympathy, so that they do not involve one and the same point of juncture.

Chapter ii.

Doctrines concerning Æons—the Chaldean Astrology—Heresy derivable from it.

Employing these [as analogies], Euphrates the Peratic, and Acembes[3] the Carystian, and the rest of the crowd of these [speculators], imposing names different from the doctrine of the truth, speak of a sedition of Æons, and of a revolt of good powers over to evil [ones], and of the concord of good with wicked [Æons], calling them *Toparchai* and *Proastioi*, and very many other names. But the entire of this heresy, as attempted by them, I shall explain and refute when we come to treat of the subject of these [Æons]. But now, lest any one suppose the opinions propounded by the Chaldæans respecting astrological doctrine to be trustworthy and secure, we shall not hesitate to furnish a brief refutation respecting these, establishing that the futile art is calculated both to deceive and blind the soul indulging in vain expectations, rather than to profit it. And we urge our case with these, not according to any experience of the art, but from knowledge based on practical principles. Those who have cultivated the art, becoming disciples of the Chaldæans, and communicating mysteries as if strange and astonishing to men, having changed the names [merely], have from this source

[1] Hippolytus gives the substance of Sextus Empiricus' remarks, omitting, however, a portion of the passage followed. (See Sextus Empiricus' *Mathem.* v. 44.)

[2] Or, "celestial."

[3] Or "Celbes," or "Ademes." The first is the form of the name employed in book v. c. viii.; the second in book x. c. vi.

concocted their heresy. But since, estimating the astrological art as a powerful one, and availing themselves of the testimonies adduced by its patrons, they wish to gain reliance for their own attempted conclusions, we shall at present, as it has seemed expedient, prove the astrological art to be untenable, as our intention next is to invalidate also the Peratic system, as a branch growing out of an unstable root.

Chapter III.

The Horoscope the Foundation of Astrology—Indiscoverability of the Horoscope—therefore the Futility of the Chaldæan Art.

The originating principle,[1] and, as it were, foundation, of the entire art, is fixing[2] the horoscope.[3] For from this are derived the rest of the cardinal points, as well as the declinations and ascensions, the triangles and squares, and the configurations of the stars in accordance with these; and from all these the predictions are taken. Whence, if the horoscope be removed, it necessarily follows that neither any celestial object is recognisable in the meridian, or at the horizon, or in the point of the heavens opposite the meridian; but if these be not comprehended, the entire system of the Chaldæans vanishes along with [them]. But that the sign of the horoscope is indiscoverable by them, we may show by a variety of arguments. For in order that this [horoscope] may be found, it is first requisite that the [time of] birth of the person falling under inspection should be firmly fixed; and secondly, that the horoscope which is to signify this should

[1] This passage occurs in Sextus Empiricus.

[2] Or, "the knowledge of."

[3] Horoscope (from ὥρα σκοπός) is the act of observing the aspect of the heavens at the moment of any particular birth. Hereby the astrologer alleged his ability of foretelling the future career of the person so born. The most important part of the sky for the astrologer's consideration was that sign of the Zodiac which rose above the horizon at the moment of parturition. This was the "horoscope ascendant," or "first house." The circuit of the heavens was divided into twelve "houses," or zodiacal signs.

be infallible; and thirdly, that the ascension[1] of the zodiacal sign should be observed with accuracy. For from[2] [the moment] of birth[3] the ascension of the zodiacal sign rising in the heaven should be closely watched,[4] since the Chaldæans, determining [from this] the horoscope, frame the configuration of the stars in accordance with the ascension [of the sign]; and they term this—disposition, in accordance with which they devise their predictions. But neither is it possible to take the birth of persons falling under consideration, as I shall explain, nor is the horoscope infallible, nor is the rising zodiacal sign apprehended with accuracy.

How it is, then, that the system of the Chaldæans[5] is unstable, let us now declare. Having, then, previously marked it out for investigation, they draw the birth of persons falling under consideration from, unquestionably, the depositing of the seed, and [from] conception or from parturition. And if one will attempt to take [the horoscope] from conception, the accurate account of this is incomprehensible, the time [occupied] passing quickly, and naturally [so]. For we are not able to say whether conception takes place upon the transference[6] of the seed or not. For this can happen even as quick as thought, just also as leaven, when put into heated jars, immediately is reduced to a glutinous state. But conception can also [take place] after a lapse of duration. For there being an interval from the mouth of the womb to the fundament, where physicians[7] say conceptions take place, it is altogether the nature of the seed deposited to occupy some time in traversing[8] this interval. The Chaldæans, therefore, being ignorant of the quantity of duration to a nicety, never will comprehend the [moment of] conception; the seed at one time being injected straight forward, and falling at one spot

[1] Or, "difference."

[2] Or, "during."

[3] ἀποτέξεως; some would read ἀποτάξεως.

[4] The passage is given more explicitly in Sextus Empiricus. (See *Adversus Astrol.* v. 53.)

[5] Sextus uses almost these words.

[6] Or "lodgment" (Sextus), or "deposition."

[7] Or, "attendants of physicians."

[8] Or, "make."

upon actual parts of the womb well disposed for conception, and at another time dropping into it dispersedly, and being collected into one place by uterine energies. Now, while these matters are unknown, [namely,] as to when the first takes place, and when the second, and how much time is spent in that particular conception, and how much in this; while, I say, ignorance on these points prevails on the part of these [astrologers], an accurate comprehension of conception is put out of the question.[1] And if, as some natural philosophers have asserted, the seed, remaining stationary first, and undergoing alteration in the womb, then enters the [womb's] opened blood-vessels, as the seeds of the earth[2] sink into the ground; from this it will follow, that those who are not acquainted with the quantity of time occupied by the change, will not be aware of the precise moment of conception either. And, moreover, as women[3] differ from one another in the other parts of the body, both as regards energy and in other respects, so also [it is reasonable to suppose that they differ from one another] in respect of energy of womb, some conceiving quicker, and others slower. And this is not strange, since also women, when themselves compared with themselves, at times are observed having a strong disposition towards conception, but at times with no such tendency. And when this is so, it is impossible to say with accuracy when the deposited seed coalesces, in order that from this time the Chaldæans may fix the horoscope of the birth.

Chapter iv.

Impossibility of fixing the Horoscope—Failure of an Attempt to do this at the Period of Birth.

For this reason it is impossible to fix the horoscope from the [period of] conception. But neither can this be done from [that of] birth. For, in the first place, there exists the difficulty as to when it can be declared that there is a birth; whether it is when the fœtus begins to incline towards the

[1] Or, "vanishes." [2] Not in Sextus Empiricus.
[3] The passage is given more clearly in Sextus.

orifice,[1] or when it may project a little, or when it may be borne to the ground. Neither is it in each of these cases possible to comprehend the precise moment of parturition,[2] or to define the time. For also on account of disposition of soul, and on account of suitableness of body, and on account of choice of the parts, and on account of experience in the midwife, and other endless causes, the time is not the same at which the fœtus inclines towards the orifice, when the membranes are ruptured, or when it projects a little, or is deposited on the ground; but the period is different in the case of different individuals. And when the Chaldæans are not able definitely and accurately to calculate this, they will fail, as they ought, to determine the period of emergence.

That, then, the Chaldæans profess to be acquainted with the horoscope at the periods of birth,[3] but in reality do not know it, is evident from these considerations. But that neither is their horoscope infallible, it is easy to conclude. For when they allege that the person sitting beside the woman in travail at the time of parturition gives, by striking a metallic rim, a sign to the Chaldæan, who from an elevated place is contemplating the stars, and he, looking towards heaven, marks down the rising zodiacal sign; in the first place, we shall prove to them, that when parturition happens indefinitely, as we have shown a little before, neither is it easy[4] to signify this [birth] by striking the metallic rim. However, grant that the birth is comprehensible, yet neither is it possible to signify this at the exact time; for as the noise of the metallic plate is capable of being divided by a longer time and one protracted, in reference to perception, it happens that the sound is carried to the height [with proportionate delay]. And the following proof may be observed in the case of those felling timber at a distance. For a sufficiently long time after the descent of the axe, the sound of the stroke is heard, so that it takes a longer time to reach the listener. And for this reason, therefore, it is not possible for the Chaldæans accurately to take the time of the rising

[1] Or, "the cold atmosphere."
[2] Or, "manifestation."
[3] Or, "manifestation."
[4] Or, "reasonable."

zodiacal sign, and consequently the time when one can make the horoscope with truth. And not only does more time seem to elapse after parturition, when he who is sitting beside the woman in labour strikes the metallic plate, and next after the sound reaches the listener, that is, the person who has gone up to the elevated position; but also, while he is glancing around and looking to ascertain in which of the zodiacal signs is the moon, and in which appears each of the rest of the stars, it necessarily follows that there is a different position in regard of the stars, the motion[1] of the pole whirling them on with incalculable velocity, before what is seen in the heavens[2] is carefully adjusted to the moment when the person is born.

Chapter v.

Another Method of fixing the Horoscope at Birth—equally futile—Use of the Clepsydra in Astrology—the Predictions of the Chaldæans not verified.

In this way, the art practised by the Chaldæans will be shown to be unstable. Should any one, however, allege that, by questions put to him who inquires from the Chaldæan,[3] the birth can be ascertained, not even by this plan is it possible to arrive at the precise period. For if, supposing any such attention on their part in reference to their art to be on record, even these do not attain—as we have proved—unto accuracy either, how, we ask, can an unsophisticated individual comprehend precisely the time of parturition, in order that the Chaldæan acquiring the requisite information from this person may set[4] the horoscope correctly? But neither from the appearance of the horizon will the rising star seem the same everywhere; but in one place its declina-

[1] Or, "but the motion . . . is whirled on with velocity."

[2] This rendering of the passage may be deduced from Sextus Empiricus.

[3] The text is corrupt, but the above seems probably the meaning, and agrees with the rendering of Schneidewin and Cruice.

[4] Or, "view."

tion will be supposed to be the horoscope, and in another the ascension [will be thought] the horoscope, according as the places come into view, being either lower or higher. Wherefore, also, from this quarter an accurate prediction will not appear, since many may be born throughout the entire world at the same hour, each from a different direction observing the stars.

But the supposed comprehension [of the period of parturition] by means of clepsydras[1] is likewise futile. For the contents of the jar will not flow out in the same time when it is full as when it is half empty; yet, according to their own account, the pole itself by a single impulse is whirled along at an equable velocity. If, however, evading the argument,[2] they should affirm that they do not take the time precisely, but as it happens in any particular latitude,[3] they will be refuted almost by the sidereal influences themselves. For those who have been born at the same time do not spend the same life, but some, for example, have been made kings, and others have grown old in fetters. There has been born none equal, at all events, to Alexander the Macedonian, though many were brought forth along with him throughout the earth; [and] none equal to the philosopher Plato. Wherefore the Chaldæan, examining the time of the birth in any particular latitude, will not be able to say accurately, whether a person born at this time will be prosperous. Many, I take it, born at this time, have been unfortunate, so that the similarity according to dispositions is futile.

Having, then, by different reasons and various methods, refuted the ineffectual mode of examination adopted by the Chaldæans, neither shall we omit this, namely, to show that

[1] The clepsydra, an instrument for measuring duration, was, with the sun-dial, invented by the Egyptians under the Ptolemies. It was employed not only for the measurement of time, but for making astronomic calculations. Water, as the name imports, was the fluid employed, though mercury has been likewise used. The inherent defect of an instrument of this description is mentioned by Hippolytus.

[2] Literally, "twisting, tergiversating."

[3] This seems the meaning, as deducible from a comparison of Hippolytus with the corresponding passage in Sextus Empiricus.

their predictions will eventuate in inexplicable difficulties. For if, as the mathematicians assert, it is necessary that one born under the barb of Sagittarius' arrow should meet with a violent death, how was it that so may myriads of the barbarians that fought with the Greeks at Marathon or Salamis[1] were simultaneously slaughtered? For unquestionably there was not the same horoscope in the case, at all events, of them all. And again, it is said that one born under the urn of Aquarius will suffer shipwreck: [yet] how is it that so many[2] of the Greeks that returned from Troy were overwhelmed in the deep around the indented shores of Eubœa? For it is incredible that all, distant from one another by a long interval of duration, should have been born under the urn of Aquarius. For it is not reasonable to say, that frequently, for one whose fate it was to be destroyed in the sea, all who were with him in the same vessel should perish. For why should the doom of this man subdue the [destinies] of all? Nay, but why, on account of one for whom it was allotted to die on land, should not all be preserved?

Chapter vi.

Zodiacal Influence—Origin of Sidereal Names.

But since also they frame an account concerning the action of the zodiacal signs, to which they say the creatures that are procreated are assimilated,[3] neither shall we omit this: as,

[1] Omitted by Sextus.

[2] The Abbe Cruice observes, in regard of some verbal difference here in the text from that of Sextus, that the MS. of *The Refutation* was probably executed by one who heard the extracts from other writers read to him, and frequently mistook the sound. The transcriber of the MS. was one Michael, as we learn from a marginal note at the end.

[3] This was the great doctrine of astrology, the forerunner of the science of astronomy. Astrology seems to have arisen first among the Chaldæans, out of the fundamental principle of their religion—the assimilation of the divine nature to light. This tenet introduced another, the worship of the stars, which was developed into astrology. Others suppose astrology to have been of Arabian or Egyptian origin. From some of these sources it reached the Greeks, and through them the Romans, who held the astrologic art in high repute. The art, after

for instance, that one born in Leo will be brave; and that one born in Virgo will have long straight hair,[1] be of a fair complexion, childless, modest. These statements, however, and others similar to them, are rather deserving of laughter than serious consideration. For, according to them, it is possible for no Æthiopian to be born in Virgo; otherwise he would allow that such a one is white, with long straight hair and the rest. But I am rather of opinion,[2] that the ancients imposed the names of received animals upon certain specified stars, for the purpose of knowing them better, not from any similarity of nature; for what have the seven stars, distant one from another, in common with a bear, or the five stars with the head of a dragon?—in regard of which Aratus[3] says:

> "But two his temples, and two his eyes, and one beneath
> Reaches the end of the huge monster's jaw."

Chapter vii.

Practical Absurdity of the Chaldaic Art—Development of the Art.

In this manner also, that these points are not deserving so much labour, is evident to those who prefer to think correctly, and do not attend to the bombast of the Chaldæans, who consign monarchs to utter obscurity, by perfecting

having become almost extinct, was revived by the Arabians at the verge of the middle ages. For the history of astrology one must consult the writings of Manilius, Julius Firmicus, and Ptolemy. Its greatest mediæval apologist is Cardan, the famous physician of Pavia (see his work, *De Astron. Judic.* lib. vi.-ix. tom. v. of his collected works).

[1] Sextus adds, "bright-eyed."

[2] Hippolytus here follows Sextus.

[3] Aratus, from whom Hippolytus quotes so frequently in this chapter, was a poet and astronomer of antiquity, born at Soli in Cilicia. He afterwards became physician to Gonatus, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, king of Macedon, at whose court he rose high into favour. The work alluded to by Hippolytus is Aratus' *Phænomena*,—a versified account of the motions of the stars, and of sidereal influence over men. This work seems to have been a great favourite with scholars, if we are to judge from the many excellent annotated editions of it that have appeared. Two of these deserve notice, viz. Grotius' Leyden edition, 1600, in Greek and Latin; and Buhle's edition, Leipsic 1803. See also

cowardice[1] in them, and rouse private individuals to dare great exploits. But if any one, surrendering himself to evil, is guilty of delinquency, he who has been thus deceived does not become a teacher to all whom the Chaldæans are disposed to mislead by their mistakes. [Far from it]; [these astrologers] impel the minds [of their dupes, as they would have them], into endless perturbation, [when] they affirm that a configuration of the same stars could not return to a similar position, otherwise than by the renewal of the Great Year, through a space of seven thousand seven hundred and seventy and seven years.[2] How then, I ask, will human observation for one birth be able to harmonize with so many ages; and this not once, [but oftentimes, when a destruction of the world, as some have stated, would intercept the progress of this Great Year; or a terrestrial convulsion, though partial, would utterly break the continuity of the historical tradition]?[3] The Chaldaic art must necessarily be refuted by a greater number of arguments, although we have been reminding [our readers] of it on account of other circumstances, not peculiarly on account of the art itself.

Since, however, we have determined to omit none of the opinions advanced by Gentile philosophers, on account of the notorious knavery of the heretics, let us see what they also

Dionysius Petavius' *Uranologion*. Aratus must always be famous, from the fact that St. Paul (Acts xvii. 28) quotes the fifth line of the *Phænomena*. Cicero considered Aratus a noble poet, and translated the *Phænomena* into Latin, a fragment of which has been preserved, and is in Grotius' edition. Aratus has been translated into English verse, with notes by Dr. Lamb, Dean of Bristol (London: J. W. Parker, 1858).

[1] The Abbe Cruice suggests "freedom from danger," instead of "cowardice," and translates thus: "whereby kings are slain, by having impunity promised in the predictions of these seers."

[2] Sextus makes the number "nine thousand nine hundred and seventy and seven years."

[3] The words within brackets are taken from Sextus Empiricus, as introduced into his text by the Abbe Cruice. Schneidewin alludes to the passage in Sextus as proof of some confusion in Hippolytus' text, which he thinks is signified by the transcriber in the words, "I think there is some deficiency or omissions," which occur in the MS. of *The Refutation.*

say who have attempted to propound doctrines concerning magnitudes,—who, observing the fruitless labour of the majority [of speculators], where each after a different fashion coined his own falsehoods and attained celebrity, have ventured to make some greater assertion, in order that they might be highly magnified by those who mightily extol their contemptible lies. These suppose the existence of circles, and measures, and triangles, and squares, both in twofold and threefold array. Their argumentation, however, in regard of this matter, is extensive, yet it is not necessary in reference to the subject which we have taken in hand.

Chapter viii.

Prodigies of the Astrologers—System of the Astronomers—Chaldæan Doctrine of Circles—Distances of the Heavenly Bodies.

I reckon it then sufficient to declare the prodigies[1] detailed by these men. Wherefore, employing condensed accounts of what they affirm, I shall turn my attention to the other points [that remain to be considered]. Now they make the following statements.[2] The Creator communicated pre-eminent power to the orbital motion of the identical and similar [circle], for He permitted the revolution of it to be one and indivisible; but after dividing this internally into six parts, [and thus having formed] seven unequal circles, according to each interval of a twofold and threefold dimension, He commanded, since there were three of each, that the circles should travel in orbits contrary to one another, three indeed [out of the aggregate of seven] being whirled along with equal velocity, and four of them with a speed dissimilar to each other and to the remaining three, yet [all] according to a definite principle. For he affirms that the mastery was communicated to the orbital motion of the same [circle], not only since it embraces the motion of the other, that is, the

[1] As regards astrological predictions, see Origen's *Comment. on Gen.;* Diodorus of Tarsus, *De Fato;* Photii *Biblioth.* cod. ccxxiii.; and Bardesanis, *De Legibus Nationum*, in Cureton's *Spicilegium Syriacum.*

[2] See Plato's *Timæus.*

erratic stars, but because also it possesses so great mastery, that is, so great power, that even it leads round, along with itself, by a peculiar strength of its own, those heavenly bodies —that is, the erratic stars—that are whirled along in contrary directions from west to east, and, in like manner, from east to west.

And he asserts that this motion was allowed to be one and indivisible, in the first place, inasmuch as the revolutions of all the fixed stars were accomplished in equal periods of time, and were not distinguished according to greater or less portions of duration. In the next place, they all present the same phase as that which belongs to the outermost motion; whereas the erratic stars have been distributed into greater and varying periods for the accomplishment of their movements, and into unequal distances from earth. And he asserts that the motion in six parts of the other has been distributed probably into seven circles. For as many as are sections of each [circle]—I allude to monads of the sections[1]—become segments; for example, if the division be by one section, there will be two segments; if by two, three segments; and so, if anything be cut into six parts, there will be seven segments. And he says that the distances of these are alternately arranged both in double and triple order, there being three of each,—a principle which, he has attempted to prove, holds good of the composition of the soul likewise, as depending upon the seven numbers. For among them there are from the monad three double [numbers], viz. 2, 4, 8, and three triple ones, viz. 3, 9, 27. But the diameter of Earth is 80,108 stadii; and the perimeter of Earth, 250,543 stadii; and the distance also from the surface of the Earth to the lunar circle, Aristarchus the Samian computes at 8,000,178 stadii, but Apollonius 5,000,000,

[1] Schneidewin, on Roeper's suggestion, amends the passage thus, though I am not sure that I exactly render his almost unintelligible Latin version: "For as many sections as there are of each, there are educible from the monad more segments than sections; for example, if," etc. The Abbe Cruice would seemingly adopt the following version: "For whatsoever are sections of each, now there are more segments than sections of a monad, will become; for example, if," etc.

whereas Archimedes computes[1] it at 5,544,130. And from the lunar to solar circle, [according to the last authority,] are 50,262,065 stadii; and from this to the circle of Venus, 20,272,065 stadii; and from this to the circle of Mercury, 50,817,165 stadii; and from this to the circle of Mars, 40,541,108 stadii; and from this to the circle of Jupiter, 20,275,065 stadii; and from this to the circle of Saturn, 40,372,065 stadii; and from this to the Zodiac and the furthest periphery, 20,082,005 stadii.[2]

Chapter ix.

Further Astronomic Calculations.

The mutual distances of the circles and spheres, and the depths, are rendered by Archimedes. He takes the perimeter of the Zodiac at 447,310,000 stadii; so that it follows that a straight line from the centre of the Earth to the most outward superficies would be the sixth of the aforesaid number, but that the line from the surface of the Earth on which we tread to the Zodiac would be a sixth of the aforesaid number, less by four myriads of stadii, which is the distance from the centre of the Earth to its surface. And from the circle of Saturn to the Earth he says the distance is 2,226,912,711 stadii; and from the circle of Jupiter to Earth, 202,770,646 stadii; and from the circle of Mars to Earth, 132,418,581. From the Sun to Earth, 121,604,454; and from Mercury to the Earth, 526,882,259; and from Venus to Earth, 50,815,160.

Chapter x.

Theory of Stellar Motion and Distance in accordance with Harmony.

Concerning the Moon, however, a statement has been previously made. The distances and profundities of the spheres Archimedes thus renders; but a different declaration

[1] Schneidewin, on mathematical authority, discredits the numerical calculations ascribed to Archimedes.

[2] This is manifestly erroneous; the total could only be "four myriads!"

regarding them has been made by Hipparchus; and a different one still by Apollonius the mathematician. It is sufficient, however, for us, following the Platonic opinion, to suppose twofold and threefold distances from one another of the erratic stars; for the doctrine is thus preserved of the composition of the universe out of harmony, on concordant principles[1] in keeping with these distances. The numbers, however, advanced by Archimedes,[2] and the accounts rendered by the rest concerning the distances, if they be not on principles of symphony,—that is, the double and triple [distances] spoken of by Plato,—but are discovered independent of harmonies, would not preserve the doctrine of the formation of the universe according to harmony. For it is neither credible nor possible that the distances of these should be both contrary to some reasonable plan, and independent of harmonious and proportional principles, except perhaps only the Moon, on account of wanings and the shadow of the Earth, in regard also of the distance of which alone—that is, the lunar [planet] from Earth—one may trust Archimedes. It will, however, be easy for those who, according to the Platonic dogma itself, adopt this distance to comprehend by numerical calculation [intervals] according to what is double and triple, as Plato requires, and the rest of the distances. If, then, according to Archimedes, the Moon is distant from the surface of the Earth 5,544,130 stadii, by increasing these numbers double and triple, [it will be] easy to find also the distances of the rest, as if subtracting one part of the number of stadii which the Moon is distant from the Earth.

But because the rest of the numbers—those alleged by Archimedes concerning the distance of the erratic stars—

[1] The Abbe Cruice thinks that the word should be "tones," supporting his emendation on the authority of Pliny, who states that Pythagoras called the distance of the Moon from the Earth a tone, deriving the term from musical science (see Pliny's *Hist. Nat.* ii. 20).

[2] These numerical speculations are treated of by Archimedes in his work *On the Number of the Sand*, in which he maintains the possibility of counting the sands, even on the supposition of the world's being much larger than it is (see Archimedis, *τὰ μεχρὶ νῦν σωζόμενα ἅπαντα*, Treatise *Ψαμμίτης*, p. 120, ed. Eustoc. Ascalon., Basil 1544).

are not based on principles of concord, it is easy to understand—that is, for those who attend to the matter—how the numbers are mutually related, and on what principles they depend. That, however, they should not be in harmony and symphony—I mean those that are parts of the world which consists according to harmony—this is impossible. Since, therefore, the first number which the Moon is distant from the earth is 5,544,130, the second number which the Sun is distant from the Moon being 50,272,065, subsists by a greater computation than ninefold. But the higher number in reference to this, being 20,272,065, is [comprised] in a greater computation than half. The number, however, superior to this, which is 50,817,165, is contained in a greater computation than half. But the number superior to this, which is 40,541,108, is contained in a less computation than two-fifths. But the number superior to this, which is 20,275,065, is contained in a greater computation than half. The final number, however, which is 40,372,065, is comprised in a less computation than double.

Chapter xi.

Theory of the Size of the Heavenly Bodies in accordance with Numerical Harmonies.

These [numerical] relations, therefore, the greater than ninefold, and less than half, and greater than double, and less than two-fifths, and greater than half, and less than double, are beyond all symphonies, from which not any proportionate or harmonic system could be produced. But the whole world, and the parts of it, are in all respects similarly framed in conformity with proportion and harmony. The proportionate and harmonic relations, however, are preserved —as we have previously stated—by double and triple intervals. If, therefore, we consider Archimedes reliable in the case of only the first distance, that from the Moon to the Earth, it is easy also to find the rest [of the intervals], by multiplying [them] by double and treble. Let then the distance, according to Archimedes, from Earth to Moon be 5,544,130 stadii;

there will therefore be the double number of this of stadii which the Sun is distant from the Moon, viz. 11,088,260. But the Sun is distant from the Earth 16,632,390 stadii; and Venus is likewise distant from the Sun 16,632,390 stadii, but from the Earth 33,264,780 stadii; and Mercury is distant from Venus 22,176,520 stadii, but from Earth 55,441,300 stadii; and Mars is distant from Mercury 49,897,170 stadii, and from Earth 105,338,470 stadii; and Jupiter is distant from Mars 44,353,040 stadii, but from Earth 149,691,510 stadii; Saturn is distant from Jupiter 149,691,510 stadii, but from Earth 299,383,020 stadii.

Chapter xii.

Waste of Mental Energy in the Systems of the Astrologers.

Who will not feel astonishment at the exertion of so much deep thought with so much toil? This Ptolemy, however—a careful investigator of these matters—does not seem to me to be useless; but only this grieves [one], that being recently born, he could not be of service to the sons of the giants, who, being ignorant of these measures, and supposing that the heights of heaven were near, endeavoured in vain to construct a tower. And so, if at that time he were present to explain to them these measures, they would not have made the daring attempt ineffectually. But if any one profess not to have confidence in this [astronomer's calculations], let him by measuring be persuaded [of their accuracy]; for in reference to those incredulous on the point, one cannot have a more manifest proof than this. O, pride of vain-toiling soul, and incredible belief, that Ptolemy should be considered pre-eminently wise among those who have cultivated similar wisdom!

Chapter xiii.

Mention of the Heretic Colarbasus—Alliance between Heresy and the Pythagorean Philosophy.

Certain, adhering partly to these, as if having propounded great conclusions, and supposed things worthy of reason, have

framed enormous and endless heresies; and one of these is Colarbasus,[1] who attempts to explain religion by measures and numbers. And others there are [who act] in like manner, whose tenets we shall explain when we commence to speak of what concerns those who give heed to Pythagorean calculation as possible; and uttering vain prophecies, hastily assume[2] as secure the philosophy by numbers and elements. Now certain [speculators], appropriating [3]similar reasonings from these, deceive unsophisticated individuals, alleging themselves endued with foresight;[4] sometimes, after uttering many predictions, happening on a single fulfilment, and not abashed by many failures, but making their boast in this one. Neither shall I pass over the witless philosophy of these men; but, after explaining it, I shall prove that those who attempt to form a system of religion out of these [aforesaid elements], are disciples of a school[5] weak and full of knavery.

[1] Colarbasus is afterwards mentioned in company with Marcus the heretic, at the beginning and end of book vi. of *The Refutation.*

[2] This word (*σχεδιάζουσι*), more than once used by Hippolytus, is applied to anything done offhand, *e.g.* an *extempore* speech. It therefore might be made to designate immaturity of opinion. Σχεδία means something hastily put together, viz. a raft; *σχέδιος*, sudden.

[3] Schneidewin suggests *ὅμως* instead of *οἱμοίως*. The word (*ἐρανισάμενοι*) translated "appropriating" is derived from *ἔρανος*, which signifies a meal to which those who partake of it have each contributed some dish (pic-nic). The term, therefore, is an expressive one for Hippolytus' purpose.

[4] *προγνωστικοὺς*. Some would read *πρὸς γνωστικοὺς*.

[5] Some propose *δόξης*, "opinion." Hippolytus, however, used the word *ῥίζης* (translated "school") in a similar way at the end of chap. i. of book iv. "Novelty" is read instead of "knavery;" and for *ἀναπλέου*, "full," is proposed (1) *ἀναπλέοντας*, (2) *ἀναπτεροῦντας*.

Chapter xiv.

System of the Arithmeticians—Predictions through Calculations—Numerical Roots—Transference of these Doctrines to Letters—Examples in particular Names—different Methods of Calculation—Prescience possible by these.

Those, then, who suppose that they prophesy by means of calculations and numbers,[1] and elements and names, constitute the origin of their attempted system to be as follows. They affirm that there is a root of each of the numbers; in the case of thousands, so many monads as there are thousands: for example, the root of six thousand, six monads; of seven thousand, seven monads; of eight thousand, eight monads; and in the case of the rest, in like manner, according to the same [proportion]. And in the case of hundreds, as many hundreds as there are, so many monads are the root of them: for instance, of seven hundred there are seven hundreds; the root of these is seven monads: of six hundred, six hundreds; the root of these, six monads. And it is similar respecting decades: for of eighty [the root is] eight monads; and of sixty, six monads; of forty, four monads; of ten, one monad. And in the case of monads, the monads themselves are a root: for instance, of nine, nine; of eight, eight; of seven, seven. In this way, also, ought we therefore to act in the case of the elements [of words], for each letter has been arranged according to a certain number: for instance, the letter *n* according to fifty monads; but of fifty monads five is the root, and the root of the letter *n* is [therefore] five. Grant that from some name we take certain roots of it. For instance, [from] the name Agamemnon, there is of the *a*, one monad; and of the *g*, three monads; and of the other *a*, one monad; of the *m*, four monads; of the *e*, five monads; of the *m*, four monads; of the *n*, five

[1] The subject of the numerical system employed by the Gnostics, and their occult mysteries, is treated of by the learned Kircher, *Œdipi Ægypt.* tom. ii. part i. *de Cabalâ Hebræorum;* also in his *Arithmolog.* in the book *De Arithmomantia Gnosticor.* cap. viii. *de Cabalâ Pythagoreâ.* See also Mersennes, *Comment. on Genes.*

monads; of the [long] *o*, eight monads; of the *n*, five monads; which, brought together into one series, will be 1, 3, 1, 4, 5, 4, 5, 8, 5; and these added together make up 36 monads. Again, they take the roots of these, and they become three in the case of the number thirty, but actually six in the case of the number six. The three and the six, then, added together, constitute nine; but the root of nine is nine: therefore the name Agamemnon terminates in the root nine.

Let us do the same with another name—Hector. The name [H]ector has five letters—*e*, and *k*, and *t*, and *o*, and *r*. The roots of these are 5, 2, 3, 8, 1; and these added together make up 19 monads. Again, of the ten the root is one; and of the nine, nine; which added together make up ten: the root of ten is a monad. The name Hector, therefore, when made the subject of computation, has formed a root, namely a monad. It would, however, be easier[1] to conduct the calculation thus: Divide the ascertained roots from the letters—as now in the case of the name Hector we have found nineteen monads—into nine, and treat what remains over as roots. For example, if I divide 19 into 9, the remainder is 1, for 9 times 2 are 18, and there is a remaining monad: for if I subtract 18 from 19, there is a remaining monad; so that the root of the name Hector will be a monad. Again, of the name Patroclus these numbers are roots: 8, 1, 3, 1, 7, 2, 3, 7, 2; added together, they make up 34 monads. And of these the remainder is 7 monads: of the 30, 3; and of the 4, 4. Seven monads, therefore, are the root of the name Patroclus.

Those, then, that conduct their calculations according to the rule of the number nine,[2] take the ninth part of the aggregate number of roots, and define what is left over as the sum of the roots. They, on the other hand, [who conduct their calculations] according to the rule of the number seven,

[1] This subject is examined by Cornelius Agrippa in his celebrated work, *De vanitate et incertitudine Scientiarum*, chap. xi. *De Sorte Pythagoricâ.* Terentius Maurus has also a versified work on *Letters and Syllables and Metres*, in which he alludes to similar interpretations educible from the names Hector and Patroclus.

[2] That is, the division by nine.

take the seventh [part of the aggregate number of roots]; for example, in the case of the name Patroclus, the aggregate in the matter of roots is 34 monads. This divided into seven parts makes four, which [multiplied into each other] are 28. There are six remaining monads; [so that a person using this method] says, according to the rule of the number seven, that six monads are the root of the name Patroclus. If, however, it be 43, [six] taken seven times,[1] he says, are 42; for seven times six are 42, and one is the remainder. A monad, therefore, is the root of the number 43, according to the rule of the number seven. But one ought to observe if the assumed number, when divided, has no remainder; for example, if from any name, after having added together the roots, I find, to give an instance, 36 monads. But the number 36 divided into nine makes exactly 4 enneads; for nine times 4 are 36, and nothing is over. It is evident, then, that the actual root is 9. And again, dividing the number forty-five, we find nine[2] and nothing over (for nine times five are forty-five, and nothing remains); [wherefore] in the case of such they assert the root itself to be nine. And as regards the number seven, the case is similar: if, for example we divide 28 into 7, we have nothing over; for seven times four are 28, and nothing remains; [wherefore] they say that seven is the root. But when one computes names, and finds the same letter occurring twice, he calculates it once; for instance, the name Patroclus has the *pa* twice,[3] and the *o* twice: they therefore calculate the *a* once and the *o* once. According to this, then, the roots will be 8, 1, 3, 1, 7, 2, 3, 2, and added together they make 27 monads; and the root of the name will be, according to the rule of the number nine, nine itself, but according to the rule of the number seven, six.

In like manner, [the name] Sarpedon, when made the sub-

[1] That is, calculated according to the rule of a division by seven.

[2] We should expect rather five instead of 9, if the division be by nine.

[3] There is some confusion in the text. Miller conjectures that the reading should be: "As, for instance, the name Patroclus has the letter *o* occurring twice in it, they therefore take it into calculation once." Schneidewin suggests that the form of the name may be Papatroclus.

ject of calculation, produces as a root, according to the rule of the number nine, two monads. Patroclus, however, produces nine monads; Patroclus gains the victory. For when one number is uneven, but the other even, the uneven number, if it is larger, prevails. But again, when there is an even number, eight, and five an uneven number, the eight prevails, for it is larger. If, however, there were two numbers, for example, both of them even, or both of them odd, the smaller prevails. But how does [the name] Sarpedon, according to the rule of the number nine, make two monads, since the letter [long] *o* is omitted? For when there may be in a name the letter [long] *o* and [long] *e*, they leave out the [long] *o*, using one letter, because they say both are equipollent; and the same must not be computed twice over, as has been above declared. Again, [the name] Ajax makes four monads; [but the name] Hector, according to the rule of the ninth number, makes one monad. And the tetrad is even, whereas the monad odd. And in the case of such, we say, the greater prevails—Ajax gains the victory. Again, Alexander and Menelaus [may be adduced as examples]. Alexander has a proper name [Paris]. But Paris, according to the rule of the number nine, makes four monads; and Menelaus, according to the rule of the number nine, makes nine monads. The nine, however, conquer the four [monads]: for it has been declared, when the one number is odd and the other even, the greater prevails; but when both are even or both odd, the less [prevails]. Again, Amycus and Polydeuces [may be adduced as examples]. Amycus, according to the rule of the number nine, makes two monads, and Polydeuces, however, seven: Polydeuces gains the victory. Ajax and Ulysses contended at the funeral games. Ajax, according to the rule of the number nine, makes four monads; Ulysses, according to the rule of the number nine, [makes] eight.[1] Is there, then, not any annexed, and [is there] not a proper name for Ulysses?[2] for he has gained the victory. Accord-

[1] Miller says there is an error in the calculation here.

[2] This is as near the sense of the passage as a translation in some respects conjectural can make it.

ing to the numbers, no doubt, Ajax is victorious, but history hands down the name of Ulysses as the conqueror. Achilles and Hector [may be adduced as examples]. Achilles, according to the rule of the number nine, makes four monads; Hector one: Achilles gains the victory. Again, Achilles and Asteropæus [are instances]. Achilles makes four monads, Asteropæus three: Achilles conquers. Again, Menelaus and Euphorbus [may be adduced as examples]. Menelaus has nine monads, Euphorbus eight: Menelaus gains the victory.

Some, however, according to the rule of the number seven, employ the vowels only, but others distinguish by themselves the vowels, and by themselves the semi-vowels, and by themselves the mutes; and, having formed three orders, they take the roots by themselves of the vowels, and by themselves of the semi-vowels, and by themselves of the mutes, and they compare each apart. Others, however, do not employ even these customary numbers, but different ones: for instance, as an example, they do not wish to allow that the letter *p* has as a root 8 monads, but 5, and that the [letter] *x* [si] has as a root four monads; and turning in every direction, they discover nothing sound. When, however, they contend about the second [letter], from each name they take away the first letter; but when they contend about the third [letter], they take away two letters of each name, and calculating the rest, compare them.

Chapter xv.

Quibbles of the Numerical Theorists—the Art of the Frontispicists (Physiognomy)—Connection of this Art with Astrology—Type of those born under Aries.

I think that there has been clearly expounded the mind of arithmeticians, who, by means of numbers and of names, suppose that they interpret life. Now I perceive that these, enjoying leisure, and being trained in calculation, have been desirous that, through the art[1] delivered to them from childhood, they, acquiring celebrity, should be styled prophets.

[1] The word θέλειν occurs in this sentence, but is obviously superfluous.

And they, measuring the letters up [and] down, have wandered into trifling. For if they fail, they say, in putting forward the difficulty, Perhaps this name was not a family one, but imposed, as also lighting in the instance they argue in the case of [the names] Ulysses and Ajax. Who, taking occasion from this astonishing philosophy, and desirous of being styled "Heresiarch," will not be extolled?

But since, also, there is another more profound art among the all-wise speculators of the Greeks (to whom heretical individuals boast that they attach themselves as disciples, on account of their employing the opinions of these [ancient philosophers] in reference to the doctrines attempted [to be established] by themselves, as shall a little afterwards be proved); but this is an art of divination, by examination of the forehead,[1] or rather, I should say, it is madness: yet we shall not be silent as regards this [system]. There are some who ascribe to the stars figures that mould the ideas[2] and dispositions of men, assigning the reason of this to births [that have taken place] under particular stars; they thus express themselves: Those who[3] are born under Aries will be of the following kind: long head, red hair, contracted eyebrows, pointed forehead, eyes grey and lively,[4] drawn cheeks, long-nosed, expanded nostrils, thin lips, tapering chin, wide mouth. These, he says, will partake of the following nature: cautious, subtle, perspicuous,[5] prudent, indulgent, gentle, over-anxious, persons of secret resolves, fitted for every undertaking, pre-

[1] In the margin of the MS. is the note, "Opinion of the Metopiscopists."

[2] These words are out of place. See next note.

[3] There is evidently some displacement of words here. Miller and Schneidewin suggest: "There are some who ascribe to the influence of the stars the natures of men; since, in computing the births of individuals, they thus express themselves as if they were moulding the species of men." The Abbe Cruice would leave the text as it is, altering only τυποῦντες ἰδέας into τύπων τε ἰδέας.

[4] Literally, "jumping;" others read "blackish," or "expressive" (literally, "talking"). The vulgar reading, ὑπὸ ἄλλοις, is evidently untenable.

[5] Or "cowardly," or "cowards at heart;" or some read, χαροποιοί, *i.e.* "causative of gladness."

vailing more by prudence than strength, deriders for the time being, scholars, trustworthy, contentious, quarrellers in a fray, concupiscent, inflamed with unnatural lust, reflective, estranged[1] from their own homes, giving dissatisfaction in everything, accusers, like madmen in their cups, scorners, year by year losing something,[2] serviceable in friendship through goodness; they, in the majority of cases, end their days in a foreign land.

Chapter xvi.

Type of those born under Taurus.

Those, however, who are born in Taurus will be of the following description: round head, thick hair, broad forehead, square eyes, and large black eyebrows; in a white man, thin veins, sanguine, long eyelids, coarse huge ears, round mouths, thick nose, round nostrils, thick lips, strong in the upper parts, formed straight from the legs.[3] The same are by nature pleasing, reflective, of a goodly disposition, devout, just, uncouth, complaisant, labourers from twelve years, quarrelsome, dull. The stomach of these is small, they are quickly filled, forming many designs, prudent, niggardly towards themselves, liberal towards others, beneficent, of a slow[4] body: they are partly sorrowful, heedless as regards friendship, useful on account of mind, unfortunate.

Chapter xvii.

Type of those born under Gemini.

Those who are born in Gemini will be of the following description: red countenance, size not very large, evenly proportioned limbs,[5] black eyes as if anointed with oil, cheeks turned down,[6] and large mouth, contracted eyebrows; they

[1] Or, "diseased with unnatural lust," *i.e.* νοσοῦντες for νοοῦντες.
[2] Or, κατ' ἔπος, "verbally rejecting anything."
[3] Or better, "weak in the limbs."
[4] Or, "short."
[5] Or, "parts."
[6] Some read καλῶ γεγεννημένων, or καλῶ τετεννημένων.

conquer all things, they retain whatever possessions they acquire,[1] they are extremely rich, penurious, niggardly of what is peculiarly their own, profuse in the pleasures of women,[2] equitable, musical, liars. And the same by nature are learned, reflective, inquisitive, arriving at their own decisions, concupiscent, sparing of what belongs to themselves, liberal, quiet, prudent, crafty, they form many designs, calculators, accusers, importunate, not prosperous, they are beloved by the fair sex, merchants; as regards friendship, not to any considerable extent useful.

Chapter xviii.

Type of those born under Cancer.

Those born in Cancer are of the following description: size not large, hair like a dog, of a reddish colour, small mouth, round head, pointed forehead, grey eyes, sufficiently beautiful, limbs somewhat varying. The same by nature are wicked, crafty, proficients in plans, insatiable, stingy, ungracious, illiberal, useless, forgetful; they neither restore what is another's, nor do they ask back what is their own;[3] as regards friendship, useful.

Chapter xix.

Type of those born under Leo.

Those born in Leo are of the following description: round head, reddish hair, huge wrinkled forehead, coarse ears, large

[1] Or, "they are given to hoarding, they have possessions."

[2] This is an emended reading of the text, which is obviously confused. The correction necessary is introduced lower down in the MS., which makes the same characteristic be twice mentioned. The Abbe Cruice, however, accounts for such a twofold mention, on the ground that the whole subject is treated by Hippolytus in such a way as to expose the absurdities of the astrologic predictions. He therefore quotes the opinions of various astrologers, in order to expose the diversities of opinion existing among them.

Manilius maintains that persons born under Cancer are of an avaricious and usurious disposition. (See *Astronom.* iv. 5.)

development of neck, partly bald, red complexion, grey eyes, large jaws, coarse mouth, gross in the upper parts,[1] huge breast, the under limbs tapering. The same are by nature persons who allow nothing to interfere with their own decision, pleasing themselves, irascible, passionate, scorners, obstinate, forming no design, not loquacious,[2] indolent, making an improper use of leisure, familiar,[3] wholly abandoned to pleasures of women, adulterers, immodest, in faith untrue, importunate, daring, penurious, spoliators, remarkable; as regards fellowship, useful; as regards friendship,[4] useless.

Chapter xx.

Type of those born under Virgo.

Those born in Virgo are of the following description: fair appearance, eyes not large, fascinating, dark, compact[5] eyebrows, cheerful, swimmers; they are, however, slight in frame,[6] beautiful in aspect, with hair prettily adjusted, large forehead, prominent nose. The same by nature are docile, moderate, intelligent, sportive, rational, slow to speak, forming many plans; in regard of a favour, importunate;[7] gladly observing everything; and well-disposed pupils, they master whatever they learn; moderate, scorners, victims of unnatural lusts, companionable, of a noble soul, despisers, careless in practical matters, attending to instruction, more honourable in what concerns others than what relates to themselves; as regards friendship, useful.

Chapter xxi.

Type of those born under Libra.

Those born in Libra will be of the following description: hair, thin, drooping, reddish and longish, forehead pointed

[1] Or, "having the upper parts larger than the lower."

[2] Some read ἄναλοι.

[3] Schneidewin conjectures ἀσυνήθεις, *i.e.* inexperienced.

[4] Or, "succour."

[5] Or, "straight, compact."

[6] Miller gives an additional sentence: "They are of equal measurement at the [same] age, and possess a body perfect and erect."

[7] Or, "careful observers."

[and] wrinkled, fair compact eyebrows, beautiful eyes, dark pupils, long thin ears, head inclined, wide mouth. The same by nature are intelligent, God-fearing, communicative to one another,[1] traders, toilers, not retaining gain, liars, not of an amiable disposition, in business or principle true, free-spoken, beneficent, illiterate, deceivers, friendly, careless, [to whom it is not profitable to do any act of injustice];[2] they are scorners, scoffers, satirical,[3] illustrious, listeners, and nothing succeeds with these; as regards friendship, useful.

Chapter xxii.

Type of those born under Scorpio.

Those born in Scorpio are of the following description: a maidenish countenance, comely, pungent, blackish hair, well-shaped eyes, forehead not broad, and sharp nostril, small contracted ears, wrinkled foreheads, narrow eyebrows, drawn cheeks. The same by nature are crafty, sedulous, liars, communicating their particular designs to no one, of a deceitful spirit, wicked, scorners, victims to adultery, well-grown, docile; as regards friendship, useless.

Chapter xxiii.

Type of those born under Sagittarius.

Those born in Sagittarius will be of the following description: great length, square forehead, profuse eyebrows, indicative of strength, well-arranged projection of hair, reddish [in complexion]. The same by nature are gracious, as educated persons, simple, beneficent; given to unnatural lusts, companionable, toil-worn, lovers, beloved, jovial in their cups, clean, passionate, careless, wicked; as regards friendship, useless; scorners, with noble souls, insolent, crafty; for fellowship, useful.

[1] Or, "speaking falsehoods, they will be believed."
[2] The words within brackets are obviously an interpolation.
[3] Or, "spies."

Chapter xxiv.

Type of those born under Capricorn.

Those born in Capricorn will be of the following description: reddish body, projection of greyish hair, round mouth,[1] eyes as of an eagle, contracted brows, open forehead, somewhat bald, in the upper parts of the body endued with more strength. The same by nature are philosophic, scorners, and scoffers at the existing state of things, passionate, persons that can make concessions, honourable, beneficent, lovers of the practice of music, passionate in their cups, mirthful, familiar, talkative, given to unnatural lusts, genial, amiable, quarrelsome lovers, for fellowship well disposed.

Chapter xxv.

Type of those born under Aquarius.

Those born in Aquarius will be of the following description: square in size, of a diminutive body; sharp, small, fierce eyes; imperious, ungenial, severe, readily making acquisitions, for friendship and fellowship well disposed; moreover, for maritime[2] enterprises they make voyages, and perish. The same by nature are taciturn, modest, sociable, adulterers, penurious, practised in business,[3] tumultuous, pure, well-disposed, honourable, large eyebrows; frequently they are born in the midst of trifling events, but [in after life] follow a different pursuit; though they may have shown kindness to any one, still no one returns them thanks.

Chapter xxvi.

Type of those born under Pisces.

Those born in Pisces will be of the following description: of moderate dimensions, pointed forehead like fishes, shaggy hair, frequently they become soon grey. The same by nature

[1] Or, "body."

[2] Literally "moist," or "difficult;" or, the Abbe Cruice suggests, "fortuitous."

[3] Or, "pragmatic, mild, not violent."

are of exalted soul, simple, passionate, penurious, talkative; in the first period of life they will be drowsy; they are desirous of managing business by themselves, of high repute, venturesome, emulous, accusers, changing their locality, lovers, dancers; for friendship, useful.

Chapter xxvii.

Futility of this Theory of Stellar Influence.

Since, therefore, we have explained the astonishing wisdom of these men, and have not concealed their overwrought art of divination by means of contemplation, neither shall I be silent as regards [undertakings] in the case of which those that are deceived act foolishly. For, comparing the forms and dispositions of men with names of stars, how impotent their system is! For we know that those originally conversant with such investigations have called the stars by names given in reference to propriety of signification and facility for future recognition. For what similarity is there of these [heavenly bodies] with the likeness of animals, or what community of nature as regards conduct and energy [is there in the two cases], that one should allege that a person born in Leo should be irascible, and one born in Virgo moderate, or one born in Cancer wicked, but that those born in . . .

Chapter xxviii.[1]

System of the Magicians—Incantations of Demons—Secret Magical Rites.

. . . And [the sorcerer], taking [a paper], directs the inquirer[2] to write down with water whatever questions he may

[1] Hippolytus having explained the system of sidereal influence over men, proceeds to detail the magical rites and operations of the sorcerers. This arrangement is in conformity with the technical divisions of astrology into (1) judiciary, (2) natural. The former related to the prediction of future events, and the latter of the phenomena of nature, being thus akin to the art of magic.

[2] The text here and at the end of the last chapter is somewhat imperfect.

desire to have asked from the demons. Then, folding up the paper, and delivering it to the attendant, he sends him away to commit it to the flames, that the ascending smoke may waft the letters to demons. While, however, the attendant is executing this order, [the sorcerer] first removes equal portions of the paper, and on some more parts of it he pretends that demons write in Hebrew characters. Then burning an incense of the Egyptian magicians, termed Cyphi, he takes these [portions of paper] away, and places them near the incense. But [that paper] which the inquirer happens to have written [upon], having placed on the coals he has burned. Then [the sorcerer], appearing to be borne away under divine influence, [and] hurrying into a corner [of the house], utters a loud and harsh cry, and unintelligible to all, . . . and orders all those present to enter, crying out [at the same time], and invoking Phryn, or some other demon. But after passing into the house, and when those that were present stood side by side, the sorcerer, flinging the attendant upon a bed,[1] utters to him several words, partly in the Greek, and partly, as it were, the Hebrew language, [embodying] the customary incantations employed by the magicians. [The attendant], however, goes away[2] to make the inquiry. And within [the house], into a vessel full of water [the sorcerer] infusing copperas mixture, and melting the drug, having with it sprinkled the paper that forsooth had [the characters upon it] obliterated, he forces the latent and concealed letters to come once more into light; and by these he ascertains what the inquirer has written down. And if one write with copperas mixture likewise, and having ground a gall nut, use its vapour as a fumigator, the concealed letters would become plain. And if one write with milk, [and] then scorch the paper, and scraping it, sprinkle and rub [what is thus scraped off] upon the letters traced with the milk, these will become plain. And urine likewise, and sauce of brine, and juice of euphorbia, and of

[1] Or "cushion" (Cruice), or "couch," or "a recess."

[2] Or "goes up," or "commences," or "enters in before the others, bearing the oblation" (Cruice).

a fig, produce a similar result. But when [the sorcerer] has ascertained the question in this mode, he makes provision for the manner in which he ought to give the reply. And next he orders those that are present to enter, holding laurel branches and shaking them, and uttering cries, and invoking the demon Phryn. For also it becomes these to invoke him;[1] and it is worthy that they make this request from demons, which they do not wish of themselves to put forward, having lost their minds. The confused noise, however, and the tumult, prevent them directing attention to those things which it is supposed [the sorcerer] does in secret. But what these are, the present is a fair opportunity for us to declare.

Considerable darkness, then, prevails. For the [sorcerer] affirms that it is impossible for mortal nature to behold divine things, for that to hold converse [with these mysteries] is sufficient. Making, however, the attendant lie down [upon the couch], head foremost, and placing by each side two of those little tablets, upon which had been inscribed in, forsooth, Hebrew characters, as it were names of demons, he says that [a demon] will deposit the rest in their ears. But this [statement] is requisite, in order that some instrument may be placed beside the ears of the attendant, by which it is possible that he signify everything which he chooses. First, however, he produces a sound that the [attendant] youth may be terrified; and secondly, he makes a humming noise; then, thirdly, he speaks[2] through the instrument what he wishes the youth to say, and remains in expectation of the issue of the affair; next, he makes those present remain still, and directs the [attendant] to signify what he has heard from the demons. But the instrument that is placed beside his ears is a natural instrument, viz. the wind-pipe of long-necked cranes, or storks, or swans. And if none of these is at hand, there are also some different artifi-

[1] Or, "deride."

[2] The Abbe Cruice considers that this passage, as attributing all this jugglery to the artifice of sorcerers, militates against the authorship of Origen, who ascribes (Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, lib. iii. p. 144, ed. Benedict.) the same results not to the frauds of magicians, but to demons.

cial instruments [employed]; for certain pipes of brass, ten in number, [and] fitting into one another, terminating in a narrow point, are adapted [for the purpose], and through these is spoken into the ear whatsoever the [magician] wishes. And the youth hearing these [words] with terror as uttered by demons, when ordered, speaks them out. If any one, however, putting around a stick a moist hide, and having dried it and drawn it together, close it up, and by removing the rod fashion the hide into the form of a pipe, he attains a similar end. Should any of these, however, be not at hand, he takes a book, and opening it inside, stretches it out as far as he thinks requisite, [and thus] achieves the same result.

But if he knows beforehand that one is present who is about to ask a question, he is the more ready for all [contingencies]. If, however, he may also previously ascertain the question, he writes [it] with the drug, and, as being prepared, he is considered[1] more skilful, on account of having clearly written out what is [about] being asked. If, however, he is ignorant of the question, he forms conjectures, and puts forth something capable of a doubtful and varied interpretation, in order that the oracular response, being originally unintelligible, may serve for numerous purposes, and in the issue of events the prediction may be considered correspondent with what actually occurs. Next, having filled a vessel with water, he puts down [into it] the paper, as if uninscribed, at the same time infusing along with it copperas mixture. For in this way the paper written upon floats[2] upwards [to the surface], bearing the response. Accordingly there ensue frequently to the attendant formidable fancies, for also he strikes blows plentifully on the terrified [bystanders]. For, casting incense into the fire, he again operates after the following method. Covering a lump of what are called "fossil salts" with Etruscan wax, and dividing the piece itself of incense into two parts, he throws in a grain of salt; and again joining [the piece] together, and placing it on the burning coals, he leaves it there. And when this is con-

[1] Or, "denominated."

[2] Or, "rises up."

sumed, the salts, bounding upwards, create the impression of, as it were, a strange vision taking place. And the dark-blue dye which has been deposited in the incense produces a blood-red flame, as we have already declared. But [the sorcerer] makes a scarlet liquid, by mixing wax with alkanet, and, as I said, depositing the wax in the incense. And he makes the coals[1] be moved, placing underneath powdered alum; and when this is dissolved and swells up like bubbles, the coals are moved.

Chapter xxix.

Display of different Eggs.

But different eggs they display after this manner. Perforating the top at both ends, and extracting the white, [and] having again dipped it, throw in some minium and some writing ink. Close, however, the openings with refined scrapings of the eggs, smearing them with fig-juice.

Chapter xxx.

Self-slaughter of Sheep.

By those who cause sheep to cut off their own heads, the following plan is adopted. Secretly smearing the throat [of the animal] with a cauterizing drug, he places a sword near, and leaves it there.[2] The sheep, desirous of scratching himself, rushes against the blade, and in the act of rubbing is slaughtered, while the head is almost severed from the trunk. There is, however, a compound of the drug, bryony and salt and squills, made up in equal parts. In order that the person bringing the drug may escape notice, he carries a box with two compartments constructed of horn, the visible one of which contains frankincense, but the secret one [the aforesaid] drug. He, however, likewise insinuates into the ears of the sheep about to meet death quicksilver; but this is a poisonous drug.

[1] On the margin of the MS. we find the words, "concerning coals," "concerning magical signs," "concerning sheep."

[2] Or, παραδοθείς, "he delivers it a sword, and departs."

Chapter XXXI.

Method of poisoning Goats.

And if one smear[1] the ears of goats over with cerate, they say that they expire a little afterwards, by having their breathing obstructed. For this to them is the way—as these affirm—of their drawing their breath in an act of respiration. And a ram, they assert, dies,[2] if one bends back [its neck][3] opposite the sun. And they accomplish the burning of a house, by daubing it over with the juice of a certain fish called *dactylus*. And this effect, which it has by reason of the sea-water, is very useful. Likewise foam of the ocean is boiled in an earthen jar along with some sweet ingredients; and if you apply a lighted candle to this while in a seething state, it catches the fire and is consumed; and [yet though the mixture] be poured upon the head, it does not burn it at all. If, however, you also smear it over with heated resin,[4] it is consumed far more effectually. But he accomplishes his object better still, if also he takes some sulphur.

Chapter XXXII.

Imitations of Thunder, and other Illusions.

Thunder is produced in many ways; for stones very numerous and unusally large being rolled downwards along wooden planks, fall upon plates of brass, and cause a sound similar to thunder. And also around the thin plank with which carders thicken cloth, they coil a thin rope; and then drawing away the cord with a whirr, they spin the plank

[1] Or, "close up."

[2] The words "death of a goat" occur on the margin of the MS.

[3] A similar statement is made, on the authority of Alcmæon, by Aristotle in his *Histor. Animal.* i. 2.

[4] Μαννῇ is the word in the text. But manna in the ordinary acceptation of the term can scarcely be intended. Pliny, however, mentions it as a proper name of grains of incense and resin. The Abbe Cruice suggests the very probable emendation of μάλθῃ, which signifies a mixture of wax and resin for caulking ships.

round, and in its revolution it emits a sound like thunder. These farces, verily, are played off thus.

There are, however, other practices that I shall explain, which those who execute these ludicrous performances estimate as great exploits. Placing a cauldron full of pitch upon burning coals, when it boils up, [though] laying their hands down upon it, they are not burned; nay, even while walking on coals of fire with naked feet, they are not scorched. But also setting a pyramid of stone on a hearth, [the sorcerer] makes it get on fire, and from the mouth it disgorges a volume of smoke, and that of a fiery description. Then also putting a linen cloth upon a pot of water, throwing on [at the same time] a quantity of blazing coals, [the magician] keeps the linen cloth unconsumed. Creating also darkness in the house, [the sorcerer] alleges that he can introduce gods or demons; and if any requires him to show Æsculapius, he uses an invocation couched in the following words:

"The child once slain, again of Phœbus deathless made,
I call to come, and aid my sacrificial rites;
Who, also, once the countless tribes of fleeting dead,
In ever-mournful homes of Tartarus wide,
The fatal billow breasting, and the inky[1] flood
Surmounting, where all of mortal mould must float,
Torn, beside the lake, with endless[2] grief and woe,
Thyself didst snatch from gloomy Proserpine.
Or whether the seat of holy Thrace thou haunt, or lovely
Pergamos, or besides Ionian Epidaurus,
The chief of seers, O happy God, invites thee here."

Chapter xxxiii.

The Burning Æsculapius—Tricks with Fire.

But after he discontinues uttering these jests, a fiery Æsculapius[3] appears upon the floor. Then, placing in the

[1] δίαυλον in the text has been altered into κελαινὸν. The translator has followed the latter.

[2] Or "indissoluble," or "inseparable."

[3] Marsilius Ficinus (in his *Commentary on Plotinus*, p. 504 et seq., vol. ii. Creuzer's edition), who here discusses the subject of demons

midst a pot full of water, he invokes all the deities, and they are present. For any one who is by, glancing into the pot, will behold them all, and Diana leading on her baying hounds. We shall not, however, shrink from narrating the account [of the devices] of these men, how they attempt [to accomplish their jugglery]. For [the magician] lays his hand upon the cauldron of pitch,[1] which is in, as it were, a boiling state; and throwing in [at the same time] vinegar and nitre and moist pitch, he kindles a fire beneath the cauldron. The vinegar, however, being mixed along with the nitre, on receiving a small accession of heat, moves the pitch, so as to cause bubbles to rise to the surface, and afford the mere semblance of a seething [pot]. The [sorcerer], however, previously washes his hands frequently in brine; the consequence being, that the contents of the cauldron do not in any wise, though in reality boiling, burn him very much. But if, having smeared his hands with a tincture of myrtle[2] and nitre and myrrh, along with vinegar, he wash them in brine frequently, he is not scorched; and he does not burn his feet, provided he smear them with isinglass and a salamander.

As regards, however, the burning like a taper of the pyramid, though composed of stone, the cause of this is the following. Chalky earth is fashioned into the shape of a pyramid, but its colour is that of a milk-white stone, and it is prepared after this fashion. Having anointed the piece of clay with plenty of oil, and put it upon coals, and baked it, by smearing it afresh, and scorching it a second and third time, and frequently, [the sorcerer] contrives that it can be burned, even though he should plunge it in water; for it contains in itself abundance of oil. The hearth, however, is

and magical art, mentions, on the authority of Porphyry, that sorcerers had the power of evoking demons, and that a magician, in the presence of many, had shown to Plotinus his guardian demon (angel). This constitutes the Goetic department of magic.

[1] Or, "full of pitch."

[2] Μυρσίνῃ. This word is evidently not the right one, for we have (σμύρνῃ) myrrh mentioned. Perhaps the word μάλθῃ, suggested in a previous passage, is the one employed here likewise.

spontaneously kindled, while the magician pours out[1] a libation, by having lime instead of ashes burning underneath, and refined frankincense and a large quantity [of tow],[2] and a bundle[3] of anointed tapers and of gall nuts, hollow within, and supplied with [concealed] fire. And after some delay, [the sorcerer] makes [the pyramid] emit smoke from the mouth, by both putting fire in the gall nut, and encircling it with tow, and blowing into the mouth. The linen cloth, however, that has been placed round the cauldron, [and] on which he deposits the coals, on account of the underlying brine, would not be burned; besides, that it has itself been washed in brine, and then smeared with the white of an egg, along with moist alum. And if, likewise, one mix in these the juice of house-leek along with vinegar, and for a long time previously smear it [with this preparation], after being washed in this drug, it continues altogether fire-proof.

Chapter xxxiv.

The Illusion of the Sealed Letters—Object in detailing these Juggleries.

After, then,[4] we have succinctly explained the powers of the secret arts practised among these [magicians], and have shown their easy plan for the acquisition of knowledge,[5] neither are we disposed to be silent on the following point, which is a necessary one,—how that, loosing the seals, they restore the sealed letters, with the actual seals themselves.

[1] Or, "makes speedy preparation;" or, "resorts to the contrivance of."

[2] The words in brackets are added by the Abbe Cruice. There is obviously some hiatus in the original.

[3] Or, "the refuse of."

[4] In the margin of the MS. occur the words, "concerning the breaking of the seals."

[5] Or, "exposed their method of proceeding in accordance with the system of Gnosticism." Schneidewin, following C. Fr. Hermann, is of opinion that what follows is taken from Celsus' work on magic, to which Origen alludes in the *Contra Celsum*, lib. i. p. 53 (Spencer's edition). Lucian (the well-known satirist), in his *Alexander*, or *Pseudomantis*, gives an account of the jugglery of these magicians (see note, chap. xlii. of this book).

Melting pitch, resin, and sulphur, and moreover asphalt, in equal parts, [and] forming the ointment into a figure, they keep it by them. When, however, it is time to loose a small tablet, smearing with oil their tongue, next with the latter anointing the seal, [and] heating the drug with a moderate fire, [the sorcerers] place it upon the seal; and they leave it there until it has acquired complete consistence, and they use it in this condition as a seal. But they say, likewise, that wax itself with fir-wood gum possesses a similar potency, as well as two parts of mastich with one part of dry asphalt. But sulphur also by itself effects the purpose tolerably well, and flower of gypsum strained with water, and of gum. Now this [last mixture] certainly answers most admirably also for sealing molten lead. And that which is accomplished by the Tuscan wax, and refuse[1] of resin, and pitch, and asphalt, and mastich, and powdered spar, all being boiled together in equal parts, is superior to the rest of the drugs which I have mentioned, while that which is effected by the gum is not inferior. In this manner, then, also, they attempt to loose the seals, endeavouring to learn the letters written within.

These contrivances, however, I hesitated to narrate[2] in this book, perceiving the danger lest, perchance, any knavish person, taking occasion [from my account], should attempt [to practise these juggleries]. Solicitude, however, for many young persons, who could be preserved from such practices, has persuaded me to teach and publish, for security's sake, [the foregoing statements.] For although one person may make use of these for gaining instruction in evil, in this way somebody else will, by being instructed [in these practices], be preserved from them. And the magicians themselves, corrupters of life, will be ashamed in plying their art. And learning these points that have been previously elucidated[3] by us, they will possibly be restrained from their folly. But that this seal may not be broken, let me seal it with hog's lard and hair mixed with wax.[4]

[1] Or, "ground"—*φορυκτῆς*, (*al.*) *φορυτῆς*, (*al.*) *φρυκτῆς*, (*al.*) *φρικτῆς*.
[2] Or, "insert." [3] Or "taught," or "adduced," or "delivered."
[4] This sentence is obviously out of place, and should properly come

Chapter xxxv.

The Divination by a Cauldron—Illusion of Fiery Demons—Specimen of a Magical Invocation.

But neither shall I be silent respecting that piece of knavery of these [sorcerers], which consists in the divination by means of the cauldron. For, making a closed chamber, and anointing the ceiling with cyanus for present use,[1] they introduce certain vessels of cyanus,[2] and stretch them upwards. The cauldron, however, full of water, is placed in the middle on the ground; and the reflection of the cyanus falling upon it, presents the appearance of heaven. But the floor also has a certain concealed aperture, on which the cauldron is laid, having been [previously] supplied with a bottom of crystal, while itself is composed of stone.[3] Underneath, however, unnoticed [by the spectators], is a compartment, into which the accomplices assembling, appear invested with the figures of such gods and demons as the magician wishes to exhibit. Now the dupe, beholding these, becomes astonished at the knavery of the magician, and subsequently believes all things that are likely to be stated by him. But [the sorcerer] produces a burning demon, by tracing on the wall whatever figure he wishes, and then covertly smearing it with a drug mixed according to this manner,—viz. of Laconian[4] and Zacynthian asphalt,—while next, as if under the influence

in probably before the words, "These contrivances, however, I hesitated to narrate," etc., a few lines above in this chapter. The Abbe Cruice conjectures that they may have been written on the margin by some reader acquainted with chemistry, and that it afterwards found its way into the text.

[1] Some read *φανερὸν* for *παρὸν*.

[2] What cyanus was is not exactly known. It was employed in the Homeric age for the adornment of implements of war. Whatever the nature of the substance be, it was of a dark blue colour. Some suppose it to have been blue steel, others blue copper. Theophrastus' account of it makes it a stone like a dark sapphire.

[3] Or, "with the head downwards."

[4] There is some hiatus here.

of prophetic frenzy, he moves the lamp towards the wall. The drug, however, is burned with considerable splendour. And that a fiery Hecate seems to career through air, he contrives in the mode following. Concealing a certain accomplice in a place which he wishes, [and] taking aside his dupes, he persuades them [to believe himself], alleging that he will exhibit a flaming demon riding through the air. Now he exhorts them immediately to keep their eyes fixed until they see the flame in the air, and that [then], veiling themselves, they should fall on their face until he himself should call them; and after having given them these instructions, he, on a moonless night, in verses speaks thus:

> "Infernal, and earthy, and supernal Bombo, come!
> Saint of streets, and brilliant one, that strays by night;
> Foe of radiance, but friend and mate of gloom;
> In howl of dogs rejoicing, and in crimson gore,
> Wading 'mid corpses through tombs of lifeless dust,
> Panting for blood; with fear convulsing men.
> Gorgo, and Mormo, and Luna,[1] and of many shapes,
> Come, propitious, to our sacrificial rites!"

Chapter xxxvi.

Mode of managing an Apparition.

And while speaking these words, fire is seen borne through the air; but the [spectators] being horrified at the strange apparition, [and] covering their eyes, fling themselves speechless to earth. But the success of the artifice is enhanced by the following contrivance. The accomplice whom I have spoken of as being concealed, when he hears the incantation ceasing, holding a kite or hawk enveloped with tow, sets fire to it and releases it. The bird, however, frightened by the flame, is borne aloft, and makes a [proportionably] quicker flight, which these deluded persons beholding, conceal themselves, as if they had seen something divine. The winged creature, however, being whirled round by the fire, is borne whithersoever chance may have it, and burns now the houses, and now the courtyards. Such is the divination of the sorcerers.

[1] Or, "memory."

Chapter xxxvii.

Illusive Appearance of the Moon.

And they make moon and stars appear on the ceiling after this manner. In the central part of the ceiling, having fastened a mirror, placing a dish full of water equally [with the mirror] in the central portion of the floor, and setting in a central place likewise a candle, emitting a faint light from a higher position than the dish,—in this way, by reflection, [the magician] causes the moon to appear by the mirror. But frequently, also, they suspend on high from the ceiling, at a distance, a drum,[1] but which, being covered with some garment, is concealed by the accomplice, in order that [the heavenly body] may not appear before the [proper] time. And afterwards placing a candle [within the drum], when the magician gives the signal to the accomplice, he removes so much of the covering as may be sufficient for effecting an imitation representing the figure of the moon as it is at that particular time. He smears, however, the luminous parts of the drum with cinnabar and gum;[2] and having pared around the neck and bottom of a flagon[3] of glass ready behind, he puts a candle in it, and places around it some of the requisite contrivances for making the figures shine, which some one of the accomplices has concealed on high; and on receiving the signal, he throws down from above the contrivances, so to make the moon appear descending from the sky.

And the same result is achieved by means of a jar in sylvan localities.[4] For it is by means of a jar that the tricks in a house are performed. For having set up an altar, subsequently is [placed upon it] the jar, having a lighted lamp;

[1] Or, "suspending a drum, etc., covered with," etc.; or "frequently placing on an elevated position a drum." For *πόῤῥωθεν*, which is not here easy of explanation, some read *τορνωθὲν*, others *τορπωθὲν*, *i.e.* fastened with buckles; others, *πόῤῥω τεθὲν*.

[2] Schneidewin, but not the Abbe Cruice, thinks there is an hiatus here.

[3] There are different readings: (1) *ἐτυμολογικῆς*; (2) *ἔτι ὁλοκλήρου*; (3) *ὑαλουργικῆς*, *i.e.* composed of glass. (See next note.)

[4] The Abbe Cruice properly remarks that this has no meaning here. He would read *ὑαλώδεσι τόποις*, or by means of glass images.

when, however, there are a greater number of lamps, no such sight is displayed. After then the enchanter invokes the moon, he orders all the lights to be extinguished, yet that one be left faintly burning; and then the light, that which streams from the jar, is reflected on the ceiling, and furnishes to those present a representation of the moon; the mouth of the jar being kept covered for the time which it would seem to require, in order that the representation of full moon should be exhibited on the ceiling.

Chapter xxxviii.

Illusive Appearance of the Stars.

But the scales of fishes—for instance, the sea-horse—cause the stars to appear to be; the scales being steeped in a mixture of water and gum, and fastened on the ceiling at intervals.

Chapter xxxix.

Imitation of an Earthquake.

The sensation of an earthquake they cause in such a way, as that all things seem set in motion; ordure of a weasel burned with a magnet upon coals [has this effect].[1]

Chapter xl.

Trick with the Liver.

And they exhibit a liver seemingly bearing an inscription in this manner. With the left hand he writes what he wishes, appending it to the question, and the letters are traced with gall juice and strong vinegar. Then taking up the liver, retaining it in the left hand, he makes some delay, and then it draws away the impression, and it is supposed to have, as it were, writing upon it.

Chapter xli.

Making a Skull speak.

But putting a skull on the ground, they make it speak in

[1] There is an hiatus here.

this manner. The skull itself is made out of the caul of an ox;[1] and when fashioned into the requisite figure, by means of Etruscan wax and prepared gum,[2] [and] when this membrane is placed around, it presents the appearance of a skull, which seems to all[3] to speak when the contrivance operates; in the same manner as we have explained in the case of the [attendant] youths, when, having procured the windpipe of a crane,[4] or some such long-necked animal, and attaching it covertly to the skull, the accomplice utters what he wishes. And when he desires [the skull] to become invisible, he appears as if burning incense, placing around, [for this purpose,] a quantity of coals; and when the wax catches the heat of these, it melts, and in this way the skull is supposed to become invisible.

Chapter xlii.

The Fraud of the foregoing Practices—their connection with Heresy.

These are the deeds of the magicians,[5] and innumerable other such [tricks] there are which work on the credulity of the dupes, by fair balanced words, and the appearance of plausible acts. And the heresiarchs, astonished at the art of these [sorcerers], have imitated them, partly by delivering their doctrines in secrecy and darkness, and partly by advancing [these tenets] as their own. For this reason, being

[1] The Abbe Cruice suggests *ἐπίπλεου βώλου*, which he thinks corresponds with the material of which the pyramid mentioned in a previous chapter was composed. He, however, makes no attempt at translating *ἐπίπλεου*. Does he mean that the skull was filled with clay? His emendation is forced.

[2] Or, "rubbings of" (Cruice).

[3] Or, "they say."

[4] Some similar juggleries are mentioned by Lucian in his *Alexander or Pseudomantis*, xxxii. 26,—a work of a kindred nature to Celsus' *Treatise on Magic* (the latter alluded to by Origen, *Contr. Cels.* lib. i. p. 53, ed. Spenc.), and dedicated by Lucian to Celsus.

[5] The word magic, or magician, at its origin, had no sinister meaning, as being the science professed by the Magi, who were an exclusive religious sect of great antiquity in Persia, universally venerated for their

desirous of warning the multitude, we have been the more painstaking, in order not to omit any expedient[1] practised by the magicians, for those who may be disposed to be deceived. We have been however drawn, not unreasonably, into a detail of some of the secret [mysteries] of the sorcerers, which are not very requisite, to be sure, in reference to the subject taken in hand; yet, for the purpose of guarding against the villanous and incoherent art of magicians, may be supposed useful. Since, therefore, as far as delineation is feasible, we have explained the opinions of all [speculators], exerting especial attention towards the elucidation of the opinions introduced as novelties by the heresiarchs; [opinions] which, as far as piety is concerned, are futile and spurious, and which are not, even among themselves, perhaps[2] deemed worthy of serious consideration. [Having pursued this course of inquiry], it seems expedient that, by means of a compendious discourse, we should recall to the [reader's] memory statements that have been previously made.

Chapter xliii.

Recapitulation of Theologies and Cosmogonies—System of the Persians—of the Babylonians—the Egyptian notion of Deity—their Theology based on a Theory of Numbers—their System of Cosmogony.

Among all those who throughout the earth, as philosophers and theologians, have carried on investigations, has prevailed

mathematical skill and erudition generally. It was persons who practised wicked arts, and assumed the name of Magi, that brought the term into disrepute. The origin of magic has been ascribed to Zoroaster, and once devised, it made rapid progress; because, as Pliny reminds us, it includes three systems of the greatest influence among men—(1) the art of medicine, (2) religion, (3) divination. This corresponds with Agrippa's division of magic into (1) natural, (2) celestial, (3) ceremonial, or superstitious. This last has been also called "goetic" (full of imposture), and relates to the invocation of devils. This originated probably in Egypt, and quickly spread all over the world.

[1] Or, "topic discussed;" or, "not leave any place (subterfuge) for these," etc.

[2] Or, "you will suppose."

diversity of opinion[1] concerning the Deity, as to His essence or nature. For some affirm Him to be fire, and some spirit, and some water, while others say that He is earth. And each of the elements labours under some deficiency, and one is worsted by the other. To the wise men of the world, this, however, has occurred, which is obvious to persons possessing intelligence; [I mean] that, beholding the stupendous works of creation, they were confused respecting the substance of existing things, supposing that these were too vast to admit of deriving generation from another, and at the same time [asserting] that neither the universe itself is God. As far as theology was concerned, they declared, however, a single cause for things that fall under the cognizance of vision, each supposing the cause which he adjudged the most reasonable; and so, when gazing on the objects made by God, and on those which are the most insignificant in comparison with His overpowering majesty, not, however, being able to extend the mind to the magnitude of God as He really is, they deified these [works of the external world].

But the Persians,[2] supposing that they had penetrated more within the confines of the truth, asserted that the Deity is luminous, a light contained in air. The Babylonians, however, affirmed that the Deity is dark, which very opinion also appears the consequence of the other; for day follows night, and night day. Do not the Egyptians, however,[3] who suppose themselves more ancient than all, speak of the power of the Deity? [This power they estimate by] calculating these intervals of the parts [of the zodiac; and, as if] by a most

[1] See Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, book i.; Cicero, *De Naturâ Deorum*, book i. (both translated in Bohn's Classical Library); and Plutarch, *De Placitis Philosophorum*, lib. i.

[2] The mention of the Persians, Babylonians, and Egyptians shows the subject-matter of the lost books to have been concerning the speculative systems of these nations.

[3] This rendering follows Miller's text. Schneidewin thinks there is an hiatus, which the Abbe Cruice fills up, the latter translating the passage without an interrogation: "The Egyptians, who think themselves more ancient than all, have formed their ideas of the power of the Deity by calculations and computing," etc.

divine inspiration,[1] they asserted that the Deity is an indivisible monad, both itself generating itself, and that out of this were formed all things. For this, say they,[2] being unbegotten, produces the succeeding numbers; for instance, the monad, superadded into itself, generates the duad; and in like manner, when superadded [into duad, triad, and so forth], produces the triad and tetrad, up to the decade, which is the beginning and end of numbers. Wherefore it is that the first and tenth monad is generated, on account of the decade being equipollent, and being reckoned for a monad, and [because] this multiplied ten times will become a hundred, and again becomes a monad, and the hundred multiplied ten times will produce a thousand, and this will be a monad. In this manner also the thousand multiplied ten times make up the full sum of a myriad; in like manner will it be a monad. But by a comparison of indivisible quantities, the kindred numbers of the monad comprehend 3, 5, 7, 9.[3]

There is also, however, a more natural relation of a different number to the monad, according to the arrangement of the orbit of six days' duration,[4] [that is], of the duad, according to the position and division of even numbers. But the kindred number is 4 and 8. These, however, taking from the monad of the numbers[5] an idea of virtue, progressed up to the four elements: [I allude], of course, to spirit, and fire, and water, and earth. And out of these having made the world,

[1] Or, "meditation on the divine nature," or "godlike reflection."

[2] The MS. has "says he."

[3] The Abbe Cruice suggests the elimination of 9, on account of its being a divisible number.

[4] Miller considers some reference here to the six days' creation (Hexaëmeron), on account of the word *φυσικωτέρα*, *i.e.* more natural. The Abbe Cruice considers that there is an allusion to an astronomic instrument used for exhibiting harmonic combinations; see Ptolem. *Harmon.* i. 2. Bunsen reads *τοῦ ἑξακύκλου ὑλικοῦ*.

[5] The text is obviously corrupt. As given by Schneidewin, it might be rendered thus: "These deriving from the monad a numerical symbol, a virtue, have progressed up to the elements." He makes no attempt at a Latin version. The Abbe Cruice would suggest the introduction of the word *προστεθεῖσαν*, on account of the statement already made, that "the monad, superadded into itself, produces a duad."

[God] framed it an ermaphrodite, and allocated two elements for the upper hemisphere, namely spirit and fire; and this is styled the hemisphere of the monad, [a hemisphere] beneficent, and ascending, and masculine. For, being composed of small particles, the monad soars into the most rarified and purest part of the atmosphere; and the other two elements, earth and water, being more gross, he assigned to the duad; and this is termed the descending hemisphere, both feminine and mischievous. And likewise, again, the upper elements themselves, when compared one with another, comprise in one another both male and female for fruitfulness and increase of the whole creation. And the fire is masculine, and the spirit feminine. And again the water is masculine, and the earth feminine. And so from the beginning fire consorted with spirit, and water with earth. For as the power of spirit is fire, so also that of earth is water;[1] . . . and the elements themselves, when computed and resolved by subtraction of enneads, terminate properly, some of them in the masculine number, and others of them in the feminine. And, again, the ennead is subtracted for this cause, because the three hundred and sixty parts of the entire [circle] consist of enneads, and for this reason the four regions of the world are circumscribed by ninety perfect parts. And light has been appropriated to the monad, and darkness to the duad, and life to light, according to nature, and death to the duad. And to life [has been appropriated] justice; and to death, injustice. Wherefore everything generated among masculine numbers is beneficent, while that [produced] among feminine [numbers] is mischievous. For instance, they pursue their calculations thus: monad—that we may commence from this—becomes 361, which [numbers] terminate in a monad by the subtraction of the ennead. In like manner, reckon thus: Duad becomes 605; take away the enneads, it ends in a duad, and each reverts into its own peculiar [function].

[1] There is an hiatus here. Hippolytus has said nothing concerning enneads.

Chapter xliv.

Egyptian Theory of Nature—their Amulets.

For the monad, therefore, as being beneficent, they assert that there are consequently[1] names ascending, and beneficent, and masculine, and carefully observed, terminating in an uneven number;[2] whereas that those terminating in the even number have been supposed to be both descending, and feminine and malicious. For they affirm that nature is made up of contraries, namely bad and good, as right and left, light and darkness, night and day, life and death. And moreover they make this assertion, that they have calculated the word "Deity," [and found that it reverts into a pentad with an ennead subtracted]. Now this name is an even number, and when it is written down [on some material] they attach it to the body, and accomplish cures[3] by it. In this manner, likewise, a certain herb, terminating in this number, being similarly fastened around [the frame], operates by reason of a similar calculation of the number. Nay, even a doctor cures sickly people by a similar calculation. If, however, the calculation is contrary, it does not heal with facility.[4] Persons attending to these numbers reckon as many as are homogeneous according to this principle; some, however, according to vowels alone; whereas others according to the entire number. Such also is the wisdom of the Egyptians, by which, as they boast, they suppose that they cognise the divine nature.

[1] Or, "names have been allocated," or "distributed."

[2] Miller thinks it should be "even number" (*περιττόν*). The Abbe Cruice would retain "uneven" (*ἀπερίζυγον*), on the ground that the duad being a *περίζυξ ἀριθμός*, the monad will be *ἀπερίζυγος*.

[3] Servius on the *Eclogues of Virgil* (viii. 75) and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxviii. 2) make similar statements.

[4] This is Miller and Schneidewin's emendation for "uneven" in the MS.

Chapter xlv.

Use of the foregoing Discussions.

It appears, then, that these speculations also have been sufficiently explained by us. But since I think that I have omitted no opinion found in this earthly and grovelling Wisdom, I perceive that the solicitude expended by us on these subjects has not been useless. For we observe that our discourse has been serviceable not only for a refutation of heresies, but also in reference to those who entertain these opinions. Now these, when they encounter the extreme care evinced by us, will even be struck with admiration of our earnestness, and will not despise our industry and condemn Christians as fools when they discern the opinions to which they themselves have stupidly accorded their belief. And furthermore, those who, desirous of learning, addict themselves to the truth, will be assisted by our discourse to become, when they have learned the fundamental principles of the heresies, more intelligent not only for the easy refutation of those who have attempted to deceive them, but that also, when they have ascertained the avowed opinions of the wise men, and have been made acquainted with them, that they shall neither be confused by them as ignorant persons would, nor become the dupes of certain individuals acting as if from some authority; nay, more than this, they shall be on their guard against those that are allowing themselves to become victims to these delusions.

Chapter xlvi.

The Astrotheosophists—Aratus imitated by the Heresiarchs—his System of the Disposition of the Stars.

Having sufficiently explained these opinions, let us next pass on to a consideration of the subject taken in hand, in order that, by proving what we have determined concerning heresies, and by compelling their [champions] to return to these several [speculators] their peculiar tenets, we may show the heresiarchs destitute [of a system]; and by proclaiming the folly of those who are persuaded [by these heterodox

tenets], we shall prevail on them to retrace their course to the serene haven of the truth. In order, however, that the statements about to follow may seem more clear to the readers, it is expedient also to declare the opinions advanced by Aratus concerning the disposition of the stars of the heavens. [And this is necessary], inasmuch as some persons, assimilating these [doctrines] to those declared by the Scriptures, convert [the holy writings] into allegories, and endeavour to seduce the mind of those who give heed to their [tenets], drawing them on by plausible words into the admission of whatever opinions they wish, [and] exhibiting a strange marvel, as if the assertions made by them were fixed among the stars. They, however, gazing intently on the very extraordinary wonder, admirers as they are of trifles, are fascinated like a bird called the owl, which example it is proper to mention, on account of the statements that are about to follow. The animal [I speak of] is, however, not very different from an eagle, either in size or figure, and it is captured in the following way:—The hunter of these birds, when he sees a flock of them lighting anywhere, shaking his hands, at a distance pretends to dance, and so by little and little draws near the birds. But they, struck with amazement at the strange sight, are rendered unobservant of everything passing around them. But others of the party, who have come into the country equipped for such a purpose, coming from behind upon the birds, easily lay hold on them as they are gazing on the dancer.

Wherefore I desire that no one, astonished by similar wonders of those who interpret the [aspect of] heaven, should like the owl, be taken captive. For the knavery practised by such speculators may be considered dancing and silliness, but not truth. Aratus,[1] therefore, expresses himself thus:

> "Just as many are they; hither and thither they roll
> Day by day o'er heav'n, endless, ever, (that is, every star),
> Yet this declines not even little; but thus exactly
> E'er remains with axis fixed and poised in every part
> Holds earth midway, and heaven itself around conducts."

[1] Arat. *Phænom.* v. 19 et seq.

Chapter xlvii.

Opinions of the Heretics borrowed from Aratus.

Aratus says that there are in the sky revolving, that is, gyrating stars, because from east to west, and west to east, they journey perpetually, [and] in an orbicular figure. And he says that there revolves towards[1] "The Bears" themselves, like some stream of a river, an enormous and prodigious monster, [the] Serpent; and that this is what the devil says in the book of Job to the Deity, when [Satan] uses these words: "I have traversed earth under heaven, and have gone around [it]," [2] that is, that I have been turned around, and thereby have been able to survey the worlds. For they suppose that towards the North Pole is situated the Dragon, the Serpent, from the highest pole looking upon all [the objects], and gazing on all the works of creation, in order that nothing of the things that are being made may escape his notice. For though all the stars in the firmament set, the pole of this [luminary] alone never sets, but, careering high above the horizon, surveys and beholds all things, and none of the works of creation, he says, can escape his notice.

"Where chiefly
Settings mingle and risings one with other."[3]

[Here Aratus] says that the head of this [constellation] is placed. For towards the west and east of the two hemispheres is situated the head of the Dragon, in order, he says, that nothing may escape his notice throughout the same quarter, either of objects in the west or those in the east, but that the Beast may know all things at the same time. And near the head itself of the Dragon is the appearance of a man, conspicuous by means of the stars, which Aratus styles a wearied image, and like one oppressed with labour, and he is denominated "Engonasis." Aratus[4] then affirms that he

[1] Arat. *Phænom.* v. 45, 46.

[2] This refers to Job i. 7, but is at once recognised as not a correct quotation.

[3] Arat. *Phænom.* v. 61.

[4] *Ibid.* v. 63 et seq.

does not know what this toil is, and what this prodigy is that revolves in heaven. The heretics, however, wishing by means of this account of the stars to establish their own doctrines, [and] with more than ordinary earnestness devoting their attention to these [astronomic systems], assert that Engonasis is Adam, according to the commandment of God as Moses declared, guarding the head of the Dragon, and the Dragon [guarding] his heel. For so Aratus expresses himself:

"The right-foot's track of the Dragon fierce possessing."[1]

Chapter xlviii.

Invention of the Lyre—allegorizing the Appearance and Position of the Stars—Origin of the Phœnicians—the Logos identified by Aratus with the Constellation Canis—Influence of Canis on Fertility and Life generally.

And [Aratus] says that [the constellations] Lyra and Corona have been placed on both sides near him (now I mean Engonasis), but that he bends the knee, and stretches forth both hands, as if making a confession of sin. And that the lyre is a musical instrument fashioned by Logos while still altogether an infant, and that Logos is the same as he who is denominated Mercury among the Greeks. And Aratus, with regard to the construction of the lyre, observes:

"Then, further, also near the cradle,[2]
Hermes pierced it through, and said, Call it Lyre."[3]

It consists of seven strings, signifying by these seven strings

[1] Arat. *Phænom.* v. 70.

[2] "Pierced it through," *i.e.* bored the holes for the strings, or, in other words, constructed the instrument. The Latin version in Buhle's edition of Aratus is *ad cunam* (*cunabulam*) *compegit*, *i.e.* he fastened the strings into the shell of the tortoise near his bed. The tortoise is mentioned by Aratus in the first part of the line, which fact removes the obscurity of the passage as quoted by Hippolytus. The general tradition corresponds with this, in representing Mercury on the shores of the Nile forming a lyre out of a dried tortoise. The word translated bed might be also rendered fan, which was used as a cradle, its size and construction being suitable for such a purpose.

[3] Arat. *Phænom.* v. 268.

the entire harmony and construction of the world as it is melodiously constituted. For in six days the world was made, and [the Creator] rested on the seventh. If, then, says [Aratus], Adam, acknowledging [his guilt] and guarding the head of the Beast, according to the commandment of the Deity, will imitate Lyra, that is, obey the Logos of God, that is, submit to the law, he will receive Corona that is situated near him. If, however, he neglect his duty, he shall be hurled downwards in company with the Beast that lies underneath, and shall have, he says, his portion with the Beast. And Engonasis seems on both sides to extend his hands, and on one to touch Lyra, and on the other Corona (and this is his confession); so that it is possible to distinguish him by means of this [sidereal] configuration itself. But Corona nevertheless is plotted against, and forcibly drawn away by another beast, a smaller Dragon, which is the offspring of him who is guarded by the foot[1] of Engonasis. A man also stands firmly grasping with both hands, and dragging towards the space behind the Serpent from Corona; and he does not permit the Beast to touch Corona, though making a violent effort to do so. And Aratus styles him Anguitenens, because he restrains the impetuosity of the Serpent in his attempt to reach Corona. But Logos, he says, is he who, in the figure of a man, hinders the Beast from reaching Corona, commiserating him who is being plotted against by the Dragon and his offspring simultaneously.

These [constellations], "The Bears," however, he says, are two hebdomads, composed of seven stars, images of two creations. For the first creation, he affirms, is that according to Adam in labours, this is he who is seen "on his knees" [Engonasis]. The second creation, however, is that according to Christ, by which we are regenerated; and this is Anguitenens, who struggles against the Beast, and hinders him from reaching Corona, which is reserved for the man. But "The Great Bear" is, he says, Helice,[2] symbol of a mighty

[1] Or, "son of" (see Arat. *Phænom.* v. 70).

[2] The Abbe Cruice considers that these interpretations, as well as what follows, are taken not from a Greek writer, but a Jewish heretic. No

world towards which the Greeks steer their course, that is, for which they are being disciplined. And, wafted by the waves of life, they follow onwards, [having in prospect] some such revolving world or discipline or wisdom which conducts those back that follow in pursuit of such a world. For the term Helice seems to signify a certain circling and revolution towards the same points. There is likewise a certain other "Small Bear" [Cynosuris], as it were some image of the second creation—that formed according to God. For few, he says, there are that journey by the narrow path.[1] But they assert that Cynosuris is narrow, towards which Aratus[2] says that the Sidonians navigate. But Aratus has spoken partly of the Sidonians, [but means] the Phœnicians, on account of the existence of the admirable wisdom of the Phœnicians. The Greeks, however, assert that they are Phœnicians, who have migrated from [the shores of] the Red Sea into this country where they even at present dwell, for this is the opinion of Herodotus.[3] Now Cynosura, he says, is this [lesser] Bear, the second creation; the one of limited dimensions, the narrow way, and not Helice. For he does not lead them back, but guides forward by a straight path, those that follow him being [the tail] of Canis. For Canis is the Logos,[4] partly guarding and preserving the flock, that is plotted against by the wolves; and partly like a dog, hunting the beasts from the creation, and destroying them; and partly producing all things, and being what they express by the name "Cyon" [Canis], that is, generator. Hence it is said, Aratus has spoken of the rising of Canis, expressing himself thus: "When, however, Canis has risen no longer do the crops miss." This is what he says: Plants that have been put into the earth up to the period of Canis' rising,

Greek, he supposes, would write, as is stated lower down, that the Greeks were a Phœnician colony. The Jewish heresies were impregnated by these silly doctrines about the stars (see Epiphan. *Adv. Hæres.* lib i. *De Pharisæis*).

[1] Reference is here made to Matt. vii. 14.

[2] Arat. *Phænom.* v. 44.

[3] Herod. *Hist.* i. 1.

[4] Or, "for creation is the Logos" (see Arat. *Phænom.* v. 332 et seq.).

frequently, though not having struck root, are yet covered with a profusion of leaves, and afford indications to spectators that they will be productive, and that they appear full of life, [though in reality] not having vitality in themselves from the root. But when the rising of Canis takes place, the living are separated from the dead by Canis; for whatsoever plants have not taken root, really undergo putrefaction. This Canis, therefore, he says, as being a certain divine Logos, has been appointed judge of quick and dead. And as [the influence of] Canis is observable in the vegetable productions of this world, so in plants of celestial growth—in men—is beheld the [power of the] Logos. From some such cause, then, Cynosura, the second creation, is set in the firmament as an image of a creation by the Logos. The Dragon, however, in the centre reclines between the two creations, preventing a transition of whatever things are from the great creation to the small creation; and in guarding those that are fixed in the [great] creation, as for instance Engonasis, observing [at the same time] how and in what manner each is constituted in the small creation. And [the Dragon] himself is watched at the head, he says, by Anguitenens. This image, he affirms, is fixed in heaven, being a certain wisdom to those capable of discerning it. If, however, this is obscure, by means of some other image, he says the creation teaches [men] to philosophize, in regard to which Aratus has expressed himself thus:

"Neither of Cepheus Iasidas are we the wretched brood."[1]

Chapter xlix.

Symbol of the Creature—and of Spirit—and of the different Orders of Animals.

But Aratus says, near this [constellation] is Cepheus, and Cassiepea, and Andromeda, and Perseus, great lineaments of the creation to those who are able to discern them. For he asserts that Cepheus is Adam, Cassiepea Eve, Andromeda the soul of both of these, Perseus the Logos, winged off-

[1] Arat. *Phænom.* v. 179.

spring of Jove, and Cetos[1] the plotting monster. Not to any of these, but to Andromeda only does he repair, who slays the Beast; from whom, likewise taking unto himself Andromeda, who had been delivered [and] chained to the Beast, the Logos—that is, Perseus—achieves, he says, her liberation. Perseus, however, is the winged axle that pierces both poles through the centre of the earth, and turns the world round. The spirit also, that which is in the world, is [symbolized by] Cycnus, a bird—a musical animal near "The Bears"—type of the Divine Spirit, because that when it approaches the end itself of life,[2] it alone is fitted by nature to sing, on departing with good hope from the wicked creation, [and] offering up hymns unto God. But crabs, and bulls, and lions, and rams, and goats, and kids, and as many other beasts as have their names used for denominating the stars in the firmament, are, he says, images, and exemplars from which the creation, subject to change, obtaining [the different] species, becomes replete with animals of this description.

Chapter L.

Folly of Astrology.

Employing these accounts, [the heretics] think to deceive as many of these as devote themselves over-sedulously to the astrologers, from thence striving to construct a system of religion that is widely divergent from the thoughts of these [speculators.] Wherefore, beloved, let us avoid the habit of admiring trifles, secured by which the bird [styled] the owl [is captured]. For these and other such speculations are, [as it were], dancing, and not Truth. For neither do the stars yield these points of information; but men of their own accord, for the designation of certain stars, thus called them by names, in order that they might become to them easily distinguishable. For what similarity with a bear, or lion, or

[1] *i.e.* literally a sea-monster (Cicero's *Pistrix*); Arat. *Phænom.* v. 353 et seq.

[2] *πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἤδη τοῖς τέρμασι γενόμενον τοῦ βίου.* Some read *τοῖς σπέρμασι*, which yields no intelligible meaning.

kid, or waterman, or Cepheus, or Andromeda, or the spectres that have names given them in Hades, have the stars that are scattered over the firmament (for we must remember that these men, and the titles themselves, came into existence long after the origin of man),—[what I say is in common between the two], that the heretics, astonished at the marvel, should thus strive by means of such discourses to strengthen their own opinions?

Chapter li.

The Hebdomadarii—System of the Arithmeticians—pressed into the Service of Heresy—Instances of, in Simon and Valentinus—the Nature of the Universe deducible from the Physiology of the Brain.

But since almost every heresy [that has sprung up] through the arithmetical art has discovered measures of hebdomads and certain projections of Æons, each rending the art differently, while whatever variation prevailed was in the names merely; and [since] Pythagoras became the instructor of these, first introducing numbers of this sort among the Greeks from Egypt, it seems expedient not to omit even this, but, after we have given a compendious elucidation, to approach the demonstration of those things that we propose to investigate.

Arithmeticians and geometers arose, to whom especially Pythagoras first seems to have furnished principles. And from numbers that can continually progress *ad infinitum* by multiplication, and from figures, these derived their first principles,[1] as capable of being discerned by reason alone; for a principle of geometry, as one may perceive, is an indivisible point. From that point, however, by means of the art, the generation of endless figures from the point is discovered. For the point being drawn into length becomes a line, after being thus continued, having a point for its extremity. And a line flowing out into breadth begets a surface, and the limits of the surface are lines; but a surface

[1] Sextus Empiricus, *adv. Geom.* 29 et seq. (See book vi. chap. xviii. of *The Refutation.*)

flowing out into breadth becomes body. And when what is solid has in this manner derived existence from, altogether, the smallest point, the nature of a huge body is constituted; and this is what Simon expresses thus: "The little will be great, being as a point, and the great illimitable." Now this coincides with the geometrical doctrine of a point.

But of the arithmetical[1] art, which by composition contains philosophy, number became a first principle, which is an indefinable and incomprehensible [entity], comprising in itself all the numbers that can go on *ad infinitum* by aggregation. But the first monad became a principle, according to substance, of the numbers, which [principle] is a male[2] monad, procreating paternally all the rest of the numbers. Secondly, the duad is a female number, which by the arithmeticians is also itself denominated even. Thirdly, the triad is a male number; this also it has been the usual custom of arithmeticians to style odd. In addition to all these, the tetrad is a female number; and this same, because it is feminine, is likewise denominated even. All the numbers therefore, taken generically, are four—number, however, as regards genus, is indefinite—from which, according to their system, is formed the perfect number—I mean the decade. For one, two, three, four, become ten—as has been previously proved—if the proper denomination be preserved, according to substance, for each of the numbers. This is the sacred quaternion, according to Pythagoras, having in itself roots of an endless nature, that is, all other numbers; for eleven, and twelve, and the rest, derive the principle of generation from the ten. Of this decade—the perfect number—there are called four parts—number, monad, power, cube—whose connections and mixtures take place for the generation of increase, according to nature completing the productive number. For when the square is multiplied into itself, it becomes a biquadratic; but when the square is multiplied into a cube, it becomes the product of a quadratic and cube; but when a cube

[1] The observations following have already been made in book i. of *The Refutation.*

[2] Some read ἄρσις.

is multiplied into a cube, it becomes the product of cube multiplied by cube. Wherefore all the numbers are seven; so that the generation of things produced may be from the hebdomad—which is number, monad, power, cube, biquadratic, product of quadratic multiplied by cube, product of cube multiplied by cube.

Of this hebdomad Simon and Valentinus, having altered the names, detailed marvellous stories, from thence hastily adopting a system for themselves. For Simon employs his denominations thus: Mind, Intelligence, Name, Voice, Ratiocination, Reflection; and He who stood, stands, will stand. And Valentinus [enumerates them thus]: Mind, Truth, Word, Life, Man, Church, and the Father, reckoned along with these, according to the same principles as those advanced by the cultivators of arithmetical philosophy. And [heresiarchs] admiring, as if unknown to the multitude, [this philosophy and] following it, have framed heterodox doctrines devised by themselves.

Some indeed, then, attempt likewise to form the hebdomads from the medical[1] [art], being astonished at the dissection of the brain, asserting that the substance of the universe and the power of procreation and the Godhead could be ascertained from the arrangement of the brain. For the brain being the dominant portion of the entire body, reposes calm and unmoved, containing within itself the spirit. Such an account, then, is not incredible, but widely differs from the conclusions which these [heretics] attempt to deduce from it. For the brain, on being dissected, has within it what may be called a vaulted chamber. And on either side of this are thin membranes, which they term little wings. Now these are gently moved by the spirit, and in turn propel towards the cerebellum the spirit, which, careering through a certain blood-vessel like a reed, advances towards the pineal

[1] The Abbe Cruice refers to Censorinus (*De nat. die*, cap. vii. et xiv.), who mentions that two numbers were held in veneration, the seventh [hebdomad] and ninth [ennead]. The former was of use in curing corporeal disease, and ascribed to Apollo; the latter healed the diseases of the mind, and was attributed to the Muses.

gland. And near this is situated the entrance of the cerebellum, which admits the current of spirit, and distributes it into what is styled the spinal marrow. But from them the whole frame participates in the spiritual energy, inasmuch as all the arteries, like a branch, are fastened on from this blood-vessel, the extremity of which terminates in the genital blood-vessels, whence all the [animal] seeds proceeding from the brain through the loin are secreted [in the seminal glands]. The form, however, of the brain is like the head of a serpent, respecting which a lengthened discussion is maintained by the professors of knowledge, falsely so named, as we shall prove. Six other coupling ligaments grow out of the brain, which, traversing round the head, and having their termination in [the head] itself, hold bodies together; but the seventh [ligament] proceeds from the cerebellum to the lower parts of the rest of the frame, as we have declared.

And respecting this there is an enlarged discussion, whence both Simon and Valentinus will be found both to have derived from this source starting-points for their opinions, and, though they may not acknowledge it, to be in the first instance liars, then heretics. Since, then, it appears that we have sufficiently explained these tenets likewise, and that all the reputed opinions of this earthly philosophy have been comprised in four books; it seems expedient to proceed to a consideration of the disciples of these men, nay rather, those who have furtively appropriated their doctrines.[1]

[1] At foot of MS. occur the words, "Fourth Book of Philosophumena."

BOOK V.

OF THE

REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES.

CONTENTS.

THE following are the contents of the fifth book of the *Refutation of all Heresies* :—

What the assertions are of the Naasseni, who style themselves Gnostics, and that they advance those opinions which the Philosophers of the Greeks previously propounded, as well as those who have handed down mystical [rites], from [both of] whom [the Naasseni], taking occasion, have constructed their heresies.

And what are the tenets of the Peratæ, and that their system is not framed by them out of the Holy Scriptures, but from astrological [art].

What is the doctrine of the Sethians,[1] and that, purloining[2] their theories from the wise men among the Greeks, they have patched together their own system out of shreds of opinion taken from Musæus, and Linus, and Orpheus.

What are the tenets of Justinus, and that his system is framed by him, not out of the Holy Scriptures, but from the detail of marvels furnished by Herodotus the historian.

CHAPTER I.

Recapitulation—Characteristics of Heresy—Origin of the Name Naasseni —the System of the Naasseni.

I think that in the four preceding books I have very elabo-

[1] The MS. employs the form Sithians, which is obviously not the correct one.

[2] This term κλεψίλογος is frequently applied by Hippolytus to the heretics.

rately explained the opinions propounded by all the speculators among both Greeks and Barbarians, respecting the Divine Nature and the creation of the world; and not even have I omitted [1] the consideration of their systems of magic. So that I have for my readers undergone no ordinary amount of toil, in my anxiety to urge many forward into a desire of learning, and into stedfastness of knowledge in regard of the truth. It remains, therefore, to hasten on to the refutation of the heresies; but it is for the purpose of furnishing this [refutation] that we have put forward the statements already made by us. For from philosophers the heresiarchs deriving [2] starting-points, [and] like cobblers patching together, according to their own particular interpretation, the blunders of the ancients, have advanced them as novelties to those that are capable of being deceived, as we shall prove in the following books. In the remainder [of our work], the opportunity invites us to approach the treatment of our proposed subjects, and to begin from those who have presumed to celebrate a serpent,[3] the originator of the error [in question], through certain expressions devised by the energy of his own [ingenuity]. The priests, then, and champions of the system, have been first those who have been called Naasseni,[4] being

[1] Miller has ἀποκαλύψας for παραλείψας. This, however, can bear no intelligible meaning, except we add some other word, as thus: "not even have I failed to disclose." Schneidewin's correction of ἀποκαλύψας into παραλείψας is obviously an improvement.

[2] Μεταλαβόντες; some read μετασχόντες, which it is presumed might be rendered, "sharing in the opinions which gave occasion to these heterodox doctrines."

[3] *i.e.* ὄφις. This term has created the title "Ophites," which may be regarded as the generic denomination for all the advocates of this phase of Gnosticism.

[4] The heresy of the Naasseni is adverted to by the other leading writers on heresy in the early age of the church. See St. Irenæus, i. 34; Origen, *contr. Cels.* vi. 28 (p. 291 et seq. ed. Spenc.); Tertullian, *Præscr.* c. 47; Theodoret, *Hæretic. Fabul.* i. 14; Epiphanius, *Advers. Hæreses.* xxv. and xxxvii; St. Augustine, *De Hæres.* xvii; Jerome, *Comment. Epist. ad Galat.* lib. ii. The Abbe Cruice reminds his readers that the Naasseni carried their doctrines into India, and refers to the *Asiatic Researches* (vol. x p. 39).

so denominated from the Hebrew language, for the serpent is called *naas*[1] [in Hebrew]. Subsequently, however, they have styled themselves Gnostics, alleging that they alone have sounded the depths of knowledge. Now, from the system of these [speculators], many, detaching parts, have constructed a heresy which, though with several subdivisions, is essentially one, and they explain precisely the same [tenets]; though conveyed under the guise of different opinions, as the following discussion, according as it progresses, will prove.

These [Naasseni], then, according to the system[2] advanced by them, magnify, [as the originating cause] of all things else, a man and a son of man. And this man is a hermaphrodite, and is denominated among them Adam; and hymns many and various are made to him. The hymns,[3] however—to be brief—are couched among them in some such form as this: "From thee [comes] father, and through thee [comes] mother, two names immortal, progenitors of Æons, O denizen of heaven, thou illustrious man." But they divide him as Geryon[4] into three parts. For, say they, of this man one part is rational, another psychical, another earthly. And they suppose that the knowledge of him is the originating principle of the capacity for a knowledge of God, expressing themselves thus: "The originating principle of perfection is the knowledge[5] of man, while the knowledge of God is absolute perfection."

[1] The Hebrew word is נָחָשׁ (*nachash*).

[2] παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον. Bernaysius suggests for these words, πατέρα τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ. Schneidewin regards the emendation as an error, and Bunsen partly so. The latter would read, πατέρα τὸν αὐτῶν Λόγον, *i.e.* "The Naasseni honour the Father of all existent things, the Logos, as man and the Son of Man."

[3] See Irenæus, *Hær.* i. 1.

[4] Geryon (see note, chap. iii.) is afterwards mentioned as a synonyme with Jordan, *i.e.* "flowing from earth" (γῆ ῥέων).

[5] γνῶσις,—a term often alluded to by St. John, and which gives its name "Gnosticism" to the various forms of the Ophitic heresy. The aphorism in the text is one that embodies a grand principle which lies at the root of all correct philosophy. In this and other instances it will be found that the system, however wild and incoherent in its theology, of the Naasseni and of some of the other Gnostic sects, was one which was constructed by a subtle analysis of thought, and by observation of nature.

All these qualities, however—rational, and psychical, and earthly—have, [the Naassene] says, retired and descended into one man simultaneously—Jesus,[1] who was born of Mary. And these three men, [the Naassene] says, are in the habit of speaking [through Jesus] at the same time together, each from their own proper substances to those peculiarly their own. For, according to these, there are three kinds of all existent things—angelic, psychical, earthly; and there are three churches—angelic, psychical, earthly; and the names of these are elect, called, captive.

Chapter II.

Naasseni ascribe their System, through Mariamne, to James the Lord's Brother—really traceable to the ancient Mysteries—their Psychology as given in the "Gospel according to Thomas"—Assyrian Theory of the Soul—the Systems of the Naasseni and the Assyrians compared—Support drawn by the Naasseni from the Phrygian and Egyptian Mysteries—the Mysteries of Isis—these Mysteries allegorized by the Naasseni.

These are the heads of very numerous discourses which [the Naassene] asserts James the brother of the Lord handed down to Mariamne.[2] In order, then, that these impious [heretics] may no longer belie Mariamne or James, or the Saviour Himself, let us come to the mystic rites (whence these have derived their figment),—to a consideration, if it seems right, of both the barbarian and Grecian [mysteries]—and let us see how these [heretics], collecting together the secret and ineffable mysteries of all the Gentiles, are utter-

[1] The Abbe Cruice remarks on this passage, that, as the statement here as regards Jesus Christ does not correspond with Origen's remarks on the opinions of the Naasseni in reference to our Lord, the *Philosophumena* cannot be the work of Origen.

[2] The Abbe Cruice observes that we have here another proof that the *Philosophumena* is not the work of Origen, who in his *Contra Celsum* mentions Mariamne, but professes not to have met with any of his followers (see *Contr. Cels.* lib. v. p. 272, ed. Spenc.). This confirms the opinion mostly entertained of Origen, that neither the bent of his mind nor the direction of his studies justify the supposition that he would write a detailed history of heresy.

ing falsehoods against Christ, and are making dupes of those who are not acquainted with these orgies of the Gentiles. For since the foundation of the doctrine with them is the man Adam, and they say that concerning him it has been written, "Who shall declare his generation?"[1] learn how, partly deriving from the Gentiles the undiscoverable and diversified[2] generation of the man, they fictitiously apply it to Christ.

"Now earth,"[3] say the Greeks, "gave forth a man, [earth] first bearing a goodly gift, wishing to become mother not of plants devoid of sense, nor beasts without reason, but of a gentle and highly favoured creature." "It, however, is difficult," [the Naassene] says, "to ascertain whether Alalcomeneus,[4] first of men, rose upon the Bœotians over Lake Cephisis; or whether it were the Idæan Curetes, a divine race; or the Phrygian Corybantes, whom first the sun beheld springing up after the manner of the growth of trees; or whether Arcadia brought forth Pelasgus, of greater antiquity than the moon; or Eleusis [produced] Diaulus, an inhabitant of Raria; or Lemnus begot Cabirus, fair child of secret orgies; or Pallene [brought forth] the Phlegræan Alcyoneus, oldest of the giants. But the Libyans affirm that Iarbas, first born, on emerging from arid plains, commenced eating the sweet acorn of Jupiter. But the Nile of the Egyptians," he says, "up to this day fertilizing mud, [and therefore] generating animals, renders up living bodies, which acquire flesh from moist vapour." The Assyrians, however, say that fish-eating Oannes[5] was [the first man, and] produced among themselves.

[1] Isa. liii. 8.

[2] Or ἀδιάφορον, equivocal.

[3] This has been by the best critics regarded as a fragment of a hymn of Pindar's on Jupiter Ammon. Schneidewin furnishes a restored poetic version of it by Bergk. This hymn, we believe, first suggested to M. Miller an idea of the possible value and importance of the MS. of *The Refutation* brought by Minoïdes Mynas from Greece.

[4] The usual form is Alalcomenes. He was a Bœotian Autocthon.

[5] Or "Iannes." The Abbe Cruice refers to Berosus, *Chald. Hist.* pp. 48, 49, and to his own dissertation (Paris, 1844) on the authority to be attached to Josephus, as regards the writers adduced by him in his treatise *Contr. Apion.*

The Chaldæans, however, say that this Adam is the man whom alone earth brought forth. And that he lay inanimate, unmoved, [and] still as a statue; being an image of him who is above, who is celebrated as the man Adam,[1] having been begotten by many powers, concerning whom individually is an enlarged discussion.

In order, therefore, that finally the Great Man from above may be overpowered, "from whom," as they say, "the whole family named on earth and in the heavens" has been formed, to him was given also a soul, that through the soul he might suffer; and that the enslaved image may be punished of the Great and most Glorious and Perfect Man, for even so they call him. Again, then, they ask what is the soul, and whence, and what kind in its nature, that, coming to the man and moving him,[2] it should enslave and punish the image of the Perfect Man. They do not, however, [on this point] institute an inquiry from the Scriptures, but ask this [question] also from the mystic [rites]. And they affirm that the soul is very difficult to discover, and hard to understand; for it does not remain in the same figure or the same form invariably, or in one passive condition, that either one could express it by a sign, or comprehend it substantially.

But they have these varied changes [of the soul] set down in the gospel inscribed "according to the Egyptians."[3] They are, then, in doubt, as all the rest of men among the Gen-

[1] The Rabbins, probably deriving their notions from the Chaldæans, entertained the most exaggerated ideas respecting the perfection of Adam. Thus Gerson, in his *Commentary on Abarbanel*, says that "Adam was endued with the very perfection of wisdom, and was chief of philosophers, that he was an immediate disciple of the Deity, also a physician and astrologer, and the originator of all the arts and sciences." This spirit of exaggeration passed from the Jews to the Christians (see *Clementine Homilies*, ii.). Aquinas (*Sum. Theol.* pars i. 94) says of Adam, "Since the first man was appointed perfect, he ought to have possessed a knowledge of everything capable of being ascertained by natural means."

[2] Or, "vanquishing him" (Roeper).

[3] This is known to us only by some ancient quotations. The Naasseni had another work of repute among them, the "Gospel according to Thomas." Bunsen conjectures that the two "Gospels" may be the same.

iles, whether [the soul] is at all from something pre-existent, r whether from the self-produced [one],[1] or from a wide-pread Chaos. And first they fly for refuge to the mysteries f the Assyrians, perceiving the threefold division of the nan; for the Assyrians first advanced the opinion that the oul has three parts, and yet [is essentially] one. For of oul, say they, is every nature desirous, and each in a different nanner. For soul is cause of all things made; all things hat are nourished, [the Naassene] says, and that grow, equire soul. For it is not possible, he says, to obtain any nourishment or growth where soul is not present. For even tones, he affirms, are animated, for they possess what is apable of increase; but increase would not at any time take place without nourishment, for it is by accession that things which are being increased grow, but accession is the nourishment of things that are nurtured. Every nature, then, [the Naassene] says, of things celestial, and earthly, and infernal, desire a soul. And an entity of this description the Assyrians call Adonis or Endymion;[2] and when it is styled Adonis, Venus, he says, loves and desires the soul when styled by such a name. But Venus is production, according to them. But whenever Proserpine or Cora becomes enamoured with Adonis, there results, he says, a certain mortal soul separated from Venus (that is, from generation). But should the Moon pass into concupiscence for Endymion, and into love of her form, the nature,[3] he says, of the higher beings requires a soul likewise. But if, he says, the mother of the gods emasculate Attis,[4] and herself has this [person] as an object of affection, the blessed nature, he says, of the

These heretics likewise make use of the Old Testament, St. John's Gospel, and some of the Pauline epistles.

[1] *αὐτογενοῦς*. Miller has *αὐτοῦ γένους*, which Bunsen rejects in favour of the reading "self-begotten."

[2] Schneidewin considers that there have been left out in the MS. the words "or Attis" after Endymion. Attis is subsequently mentioned with some degree of particularity.

[3] Or, "creation."

[4] Or, "Apis." See Diodorus Siculus, iii. 58, 59. Pausanias, vii. 20, writes the word Attes. See also Minucius Felix, *Octav.* cap. xxi.

supernal and everlasting [beings] alone recalls the male power of the soul to itself.

For [the Naassene] says, there is the hermaphrodite man. According to this account of theirs, the intercourse of woman with man is demonstrated, in conformity with such teaching, to be an exceedingly wicked and filthy [practice].[1] For, says [the Naassene], Attis has been emasculated, that is, he has passed over from the earthly parts of the nether world to the everlasting substance above, where, he says, there is neither female nor male,[2] but a new creature,[3] a new man, which is hermaphrodite. As to where, however, they use the expression "above," I shall show when I come to the proper place [for treating this subject]. But they assert that, by their account, they testify that Rhea is not absolutely isolated, but—for so I may say—the universal creature; and this they declare to be what is affirmed by the Word. "For the invisible things of Him are seen from the creation of the world, being understood by the things that are made by Him, even His eternal power and Godhead, for the purpose of leaving them without excuse. Wherefore, knowing God, they glorified Him not as God, nor gave Him thanks; but their foolish heart was rendered vain. For, professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into images of the likeness of corruptible man, and of birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore also God gave them up unto vile affections; for even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature." What, however, the natural use is, according to them, we shall afterwards declare. "And likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another; men with men working that which is unseemly" (now the expression "that which is unseemly" signifies, according to these [Naasseni], the first and blessed substance, figureless, the cause of all figures to those things that are

[1] Or, "forbidden."

[2] Gal. iii. 28, and Clement's *Epist. ad Rom.* ii. 12.

[3] See 2 Cor. v. 17, Gal. vi. 15.

moulded into shapes), "and receiving in themselves that recompense of their error which was meet."[1] For in these words which Paul has spoken they say the entire secret of theirs, and a hidden mystery of blessed pleasure, are comprised. For the promise of washing is not any other, according to them, than the introduction of him that is washed in, according to them, life-giving water, and anointed with ineffable[2] ointment [than his introduction] into unfading bliss.

But they assert that not only is there in favour of their doctrine, testimony to be drawn from the mysteries of the Assyrians, but also from those of the Phrygians concerning the happy nature—concealed, and yet at the same time disclosed—of things that have been, and are coming into existence, and moreover will be,—[a happy nature] which, [the Naassene] says, is the kingdom of heaven to be sought for within a man.[3] And concerning this [nature] they hand down an explicit passage, occurring[4] in the Gospel inscribed according to Thomas,[5] expressing themselves thus: "He who seeks me, will find me in children from seven years old; for there concealed, I shall in the fourteenth age be made manifest." This, however, is not [the teaching] of Christ, but of Hippocrates, who uses these words: "A child of seven years is half of a father." And so it is that these [heretics], placing the originative nature of the universe in causative seed, [and] having ascertained the [aphorism] of Hippocrates,[6] that a child of seven years old is half of a father, say that in fourteen years, according to Thomas, he is manifested. This, with them, is the ineffable and mystical Logos.

[1] Rom. i. 20-27. [2] ἀλάλῳ; some read ἄλλῳ. [3] Luke xvii. 21.

[4] These words do not occur in the "Gospel of Thomas concerning the Saviour's infancy," as given by Fabricius and Thilo.

[5] The Abbe Cruice mentions the following works as of authority among the Naasseni, and from whence they derived their system: *The Gospel of Perfection*, *Gospel of Eve*, *The Questions of Mary*, *Concerning the Offspring of Mary*, *The Gospel of Philip*, *The Gospel according to* (1) *Thomas*, (2) *the Egyptians*. (See Epiphanius, *Hæres.* c. xxvi., and Origen, *Contr. Cels.* vi. 30, p. 296, ed. Spenc.)

[6] Miller refers to Littré, *Traduct. des Œuvres d' Hippocrate*, t. i. p. 396.

They assert, then, that the Egyptians, who after the Phrygians,[1] it is established, are of greater antiquity than all mankind, and who confessedly were the first to proclaim to all the rest of men the rites and orgies of, at the same time, all the gods, as well as the species and energies [of things], have the sacred and august, and for those who are not initiated, unspeakable mysteries of Isis. These, however, are not anything else than what by her of the seven dresses and sable robe was sought and snatched away, namely, the *pudendum* of Osiris. And they say that Osiris is water.[2] But the seven-robed nature, encircled and arrayed with seven mantles of ethereal texture (for so they call the planetary stars, allegorizing and denominating them ethereal[3] [robes]), is as it were the changeable generation, and is exhibited as the creature transformed by the ineffable and unportrayable,[4] and inconceivable and figureless one. And this, [the Naassene] says, is what is declared in Scripture, "The just will fall seven times, and rise again."[5] For these falls, he says, are the changes of the stars, moved by Him who puts all things in motion.

They affirm, then, concerning the substance[6] of the seed which is a cause of all existent things, that it is none of these, but that it produces and forms all things that are made, expressing themselves thus: "I become what I wish, and I am what I am: on account of this I say, that what puts all things in motion is itself unmoved. For what exists remains forming all things, and nought of existing things is made."[7] He says that this [one] alone is good, and that what is spoken by the Saviour[8] is declared concerning this [one]: "Why do you say that I am good? One is good, my Father which is in the heavens, who causeth His sun to rise upon the just and unjust, and sendeth rain upon

[1] See Herodotus, ii. 2, 5.
[2] See Origen, *Contr. Cels.* v. 38 (p. 257, ed. Spenc.).
[3] Or, "brilliant."
[4] Or, "untraceable."
[5] Prov. xxiv. 16; Luke xvii. 4.
[6] Or, "spirit."
[7] See Epiphanius, *Hæres.* xxvi. 8.
[8] Matt. xix. 17; Mark x. 18; Luke xviii. 19.

saints and sinners."[1] But who the saintly ones are on whom He sends the rain, and the sinners on whom the same sends the rain, this likewise we shall afterwards declare with the rest. And this is the great and secret and unknown mystery of the universe, concealed and revealed among the Egyptians. For Osiris,[2] [the Naassene] says, is in temples in front of Isis;[3] and his *pudendum* stands exposed, looking downwards, and crowned with all its own fruits of things that are made. And [he affirms] that such stands not only in the most hallowed temples chief of idols, but that also, for the information of all, it is as it were a light not set under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, proclaiming its message upon the housetops,[4] in all by-ways, and all streets, and near the actual dwellings, placed in front as a certain appointed limit and termination of the dwelling, and that this is denominated the good [entity] by all. For they style this good-producing, not knowing what they say. And the Greeks, deriving this mystical [expression] from the Egyptians, preserve it until this day. For we behold, says [the Naassene], statues of Mercury, of such a figure honoured among them.

Worshipping, however, Cyllenius with especial distinction, they style him Logios. For Mercury is Logos, who being interpreter and fabricator of the things that have been made simultaneously, and that are being produced, and that will exist, stands honoured among them, fashioned into some such figure as is the *pudendum* of a man, having an impulsive power from the parts below towards those above. And that this [deity]—that is, a Mercury of this description—is, [the Naassene] says, a conjurer of the dead, and a guide of departed spirits, and an originator of souls; nor does this escape the notice of the poets, who express themselves thus:

> "Cyllenian Hermes also called
> The souls of mortal suitors."[5]

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[1] Matt. v. 45.

[2] Miller has οὐδεὶς. See Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osirid.* c. li. p. 371.

[3] Or, εἰσόδου, *i.e.* entrance.

[4] Matt. v. 15, x. 27.

[5] *Odyssey*, xxiv. 1.

Not Penelope's suitors, says he, O wretches! but [souls] awakened and brought to recollection of themselves,

"From honour so great, and from bliss so long."[1]

That is, from the blessed man from above, or the primal man or Adam, as it seems to them, [souls] have been conveyed down here into a creation of clay, that they may serve the Demiurge of this creation, Ialdabaoth,[2] a fiery God, a fourth number; for so they call the Demiurge and father of the formal world:

"And in hand he held a lovely
Wand of gold that human eyes enchants,
Of whom he will, and those again who slumber rouses."[3]

This, he says, is he who alone has power of life and death. Concerning this, he says, it has been written, "Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron."[4] The poet, however, he says, being desirous of adorning the incomprehensible [potency] of the blessed nature of the Logos, invested him with not an iron, but golden wand. And he enchants the eyes of the dead, as he says, and raises up again those that are slumbering, after having been roused from sleep, and after having been suitors. And concerning these, he says, the Scripture speaks: "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise, and Christ will give thee light."[5]

This is the Christ who, he says, in all that have been generated, is the portrayed Son of Man from the unportrayable Logos. This, he says, is the great and unspeakable mystery of the Eleusinian rites, Hye, Cye.[6] And he affirms that all things have been subjected unto him, and this is that which has been spoken, "Their sound is gone forth unto all the earth,"[7] just as it agrees with the expressions, "Mercury[8] waving his wand, [guides the souls,] but they twittering follow." I mean the disembodied spirits follow continuously in such a way as the poet by his imagery delineates, using these words:

[1] Empedocles, v. 390, Stein.
[2] Esaldaius, Miller (see Origen, *Contr. Cels.* v. 76, p. 297, ed. Spenc.).
[3] *Odyssey*, xxiv. 2. [4] Ps. ii. 9. [5] Eph. v. 14.
[6] See Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, c. xxxiv. [7] Rom. x. 18.
[8] *Odyssey*, xxiv. 5.

"And as when in the magic cave's recess
Bats humming fly, and when one drops
From ridge of rock, and each to other closely clings."[1]

The expression "rock," he says, he uses of Adam. This, he affirms, is Adam: "The chief corner-stone become the head of the corner."[2] For that in the head the substance is the formative brain from which the entire family is fashioned.[3] "Whom," he says, "I place as a rock at the foundations of Zion." Allegorizing, he says, he speaks of the creation of the man. The rock is interposed [within] the teeth, as Homer[4] says, "enclosure of teeth," that is, a wall and fortress, in which exists the inner man, who thither has fallen from Adam, the primal man above. And he has been "severed without hands to effect the division,"[5] and has been borne down into the image of oblivion, [being earthly and clayish.] And he asserts that the twittering spirits follow him, that is, the Logos:

"Thus these, twittering, came together; and then the souls

(That is, he guides them)

Gentle Hermes led through wide-extended paths."[6]

That is, he says, into the eternal places separated from all wickedness. For whither, he says, did they come:

"O'er ocean's streams they came, and Leuca's cliff,
And by the portals of the sun and land of dreams."

This, he says, is ocean, "generation of gods and generation of men"[7] ever whirled round by the eddies of water, at one time upwards, at another time downwards. But he says there ensues a generation of men when the ocean flows downwards; but when upwards to the wall and fortress and the cliff of Leucas, a generation of gods takes place. This, he asserts, is that which has been written: "I said, Ye are gods,

[1] *Odyssey*, xxiv. 6 et seq.
[2] Ps. cxviii. 22; Isa. xxviii. 16. [3] Eph. iii. 15.
[4] *Iliad*, iv. 350, ἕρκος ὀδόντων:
"What word hath 'scaped the ivory guard that should
Have fenced it in."
[5] Dan. ii. 45. [6] *Odyssey*, xxiv. 9. [7] *Iliad*, v. 246, xxiv. 201.

and all children of the highest;"[1] "If ye hasten to fly out of Egypt, and repair beyond the Red Sea into the wilderness," that is, from earthly intercourse to the Jerusalem above, which is the mother of the living;[2] "If, moreover, again you return into Egypt," that is, into earthly intercourse,[3] "ye shall die as men." For mortal, he says, is every generation below, but immortal that which is begotten above, for it is born of water only, and of spirit, being spiritual, not carnal. But what [is born] below is carnal, that is, he says, what is written. "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit."[4] This, according to them, is the spiritual generation. This, he says, is the great Jordan[5] which, flowing on [here] below, and preventing the children of Israel from departing out of Egypt (I mean from terrestrial intercourse, for Egypt is with them the body), Jesus drove back, and made it flow upwards.

Chapter III.

Further Exposition of the Heresy of the Naasseni—profess to follow Homer—acknowledge a Triad of Principles—their technical Names of the Triad—support these on the authority of Greek Poets—allegorize our Saviour's Miracles—the Mystery of the Samothracians—why the Lord chose Twelve Disciples—the name Corybas, used by Thracians and Phrygians, explained—Naasseni profess to find their System in Scripture—their Interpretation of Jacob's Vision—their Idea of the "Perfect Man"—the "Perfect Man" called "Papa" by the Phrygians—the Naasseni and Phrygians on the Resurrection—the *Ecstasis* of St. Paul—the Mysteries of Religion as alluded to by Christ—Interpretation of the Parable of the Sower—Allegory of the Promised Land—Comparison of the System of the Phrygians with the Statements of Scripture—Exposition of the Meaning of the higher and lower Eleusinian Mysteries—the Incarnation discoverable here according to the Naasseni.

Adopting these and such like [opinions], these most marvellous Gnostics, inventors of a novel[6] grammatical art, magnify Homer as their prophet—as one, [according to them,]

[1] Ps. lxxxii. 6; Luke vi. 35; John x. 34. [2] Gal. iv. 26.
[3] Philo Judæus adopts the same imagery (see his *De Agricult.* lib. i.).
[4] John iii. 6. [5] Josh. iii. 7–17. [6] Or, "empty."

who, after the mode adopted in the mysteries, announces these truths; and they mock those who are not indoctrinated into the Holy Scriptures, by betraying them into such notions. They make, however, the following assertion: he who says that all things derive consistence from one, is in error; but he who says that they are of three, is in possession of the truth, and will furnish a solution of the [phenomena of the] universe. For there is, says [the Naassene], one blessed nature of the Blessed Man, of him who is above, [namely] Adam; and there is one mortal nature, that which is below; and there is one kingless generation, which is begotten above, where, he says, is Mariam[1] the sought-for one, and Iothor the mighty sage, and Sephora the gazing one, and Moses whose generation is not in Egypt, for children were born unto him in Madian; and not even this, he says, has escaped the notice of the poets.

> "Threefold was our partition; each obtained
> His meed of honour due."[2]

For, says he, it is necessary that the magnitudes be declared, and that they thus be declared by all everywhere, "in order that hearing they may not hear, and seeing they may not see."[3] For if, he says, the magnitudes were not declared, the world could not have obtained consistence. These are the three tumid expressions [of these heretics], Caulacau,[4] Saulasau, Zeesar. Caulacau, *i.e.* Adam, who is farthest above; Saulasau, that is, the mortal one below; Zeesar, that is, Jordan that flows upwards. This, he says, is the hermaphrodite man [present] in all. But those who are ignorant of him, call him Geryon with the threefold body —Geryon, *i.e.* as if [in the sense of] flowing from earth— but [whom] the Greeks by common consent [style] "celestial

[1] The Abbe Cruice considers that this is taken from verses of Ezekiel, founding his opinion on fragments of these verses to be found in Eusebius' *Præparat. Evang.* ix. 38, 38.

[2] *Iliad*, xv. 189.

[3] Matt. xiii. 13.

[4] The Commentators refer to Isa. xxviii. 10. Epiphanius, *Hæres.* xxv., mentions these expressions, but assigns them a different meaning. *Saulasau* is tribulation, *Caulacau* hope, and *Zeesar* "hope, as yet, little."

horn of the moon," because he mixed and blended all things in all. "For all things," he says, "were made by him, and not even one thing was made without him, and what was made in him is life."[1] This, says he, is the life, the ineffable generation of perfect men, which was not known by preceding generations. But the passage, "nothing was made without him," refers to the formal world, for it was created without his instrumentality by the third and fourth [of the quaternion named above]. For says he, this is the cup "Condy, out of which the king, while he quaffs, draws his omens."[2] This, he says, has been discovered hid in the beauteous seeds of Benjamin. And the Greeks likewise, he says, speak of this in the following terms:

> "Water to the raging mouth bring; thou slave, bring wine;
> Intoxicate and plunge me into stupor.
> My tankard tells me
> The sort I must become."[3]

This, says he, was alone sufficient for its being understood by men; [I mean] the cup of Anacreon declaring, [albeit] mutely, an ineffable mystery. For dumb, says he, is Anacreon's cup; and [yet] Anacreon affirms that it speaks to himself, in language mute, as to what sort he must become—that is spiritual, not carnal—if he shall listen in silence to the concealed mystery. And this is the water in those fair nuptials which Jesus changing made into wine. This, he says, is the mighty and true beginning of miracles[4] which Jesus performed in Cana of Galilee, and [thus] manifested the kingdom of heaven. This, says he, is the kingdom of heaven that reposes within us as a treasure, as leaven hid in the three measures of meal.[5]

This is, he says, the great and ineffable mystery of the Samothracians, which it is allowable, he says, for us only who are initiated to know. For the Samothracians expressly hand down, in the mysteries that are celebrated among them, that [same] Adam as the primal man. And habitually there stand in the temple of the Samothracians two images

[1] John i. 3, 4. [2] Gen. xliv. 2–5. [3] Taken from Anacreon.
[4] John ii. 1-11. [5] Matt. xiii. 33, 34; Luke xvii. 21.

of naked men, having both hands stretched aloft towards heaven, and their *pudenda* turned upwards, as [is the case with] the statue of Mercury on Mount Cyllene. And the aforesaid images are figures of the primal man, and of that spiritual one that is born again, in every respect of the same substance with that man. This, he says, is what is spoken by the Saviour: "If ye do not drink my blood, and eat my flesh, ye will not enter into the kingdom of heaven; but even though," He says, "ye drink of the cup which I drink of, whither I go, ye cannot enter there."[1] For He says He was aware of what sort of nature each of His disciples was, and that there was a necessity that each of them should attain unto His own peculiar nature. For He says He chose twelve disciples from the twelve tribes, and spoke by them to each tribe. On this account, He says, the preachings of the twelve disciples neither did all hear, nor, if they heard, could they receive. For the things that are not according to nature, are with them contrary to nature.

This, he says, the Thracians who dwell around Hæmus, and the Phrygians similarly with the Thracians, denominate Corybas, because, [though] deriving the beginning of his descent from the head above and from the unportrayed brain, and [though] permeating all the principles of the existing state of things, [yet] we do not perceive how and in what manner he comes down. This, says he, is what is spoken: "We have heard his voice, no doubt, but we have not seen his shape."[2] For the voice of him that is set apart[3] and portrayed is heard; but [his] shape, which descends from above from the unportrayed one, — what sort it is nobody knows. It resides, however, in an earthly mould, yet no one recognises it. This, he says, is "the god that inhabiteth the flood," according to the Psalter, "and who speaketh and crieth from many waters."[4] The "many waters," he says, are the diversified generation of mortal men, from which [generation] he cries and vociferates to the unportrayed man, saying, "Preserve my only-begotten

[1] John vi. 53; Mark x. 38.
[2] John v. 37.
[3] ἀποτεταγμένου: some read ἀποτεταμένου.
[4] Ps. xxix. 3, 10.

from the lions."[1] In reply to him, it has, says he, been declared, "Israel, thou art my child: fear not; even though thou passest through rivers, they shall not drown thee; even though thou passest through fire, it shall not scorch thee."[2] By rivers he means, says he, the moist substance of generation, and by fire the impulsive principle and desire for generation. "Thou art mine; fear not." And again, he says, "If a mother forget her children, so as not to have pity on them and give them food, I also will forget you."[3] Adam, he says, speaks to his own men: "But even though a woman forget these things, yet I will not forget you. I have painted you on my hands." In regard, however, of his ascension, that is his regeneration, that he may become spiritual, not carnal, the Scripture, he says, speaks [thus]: "Open the gates, ye who are your rulers; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in," that is a wonder of wonders.[4] "For who," he says, "is this King of glory? A worm, and not a man; a reproach of man, and an outcast of the people; himself is the King of glory, and powerful in war."[5]

And by war he means the war that is in the body, because its frame has been made out of hostile elements; as it has been written, he says, "Remember the conflict that exists in the body."[6] Jacob, he says, saw this entrance and this gate in his journey into Mesopotamia, that is, when from a child he was now becoming a youth and a man; that is, [the entrance and gate] were made known unto him as he journeyed into Mesopotamia. But Mesopotamia, he says, is the current of the great ocean flowing from the midst of the Perfect Man; and he was astonished at the celestial gate, exclaiming, "How terrible is this place! it is nought else than the house of God, and this [is] the gate of heaven."[7] On account of this, he says, Jesus

[1] Ps. xxii. 20, 21, xxxv. 17.
[2] Isa. xli. 8, xliii. 1, 2.
[3] Isa. xlix. 15.
[4] Ps. xxiv. 7–9.
[5] Ps. xxii. 6, xxiv. 8.
[6] This is a quotation from the Septuagint, Job xl. 27. The reference to the authorized (English) version would be xli. 8.
[7] Gen. xxviii. 7, 17.

uses the words, "I am the true gate."[1] Now he who makes these statements is, he says, the Perfect Man that is imaged from the unportrayable one from above. The Perfect Man therefore cannot, he says, be saved, unless, entering in through this gate, he be born again. But this very one the Phrygians, he says, call also Papa, because he tranquillized all things which, prior to his manifestation, were confusedly and dissonantly moved. For the name, he says, of Papa belongs simultaneously to all creatures—celestial, and terrestrial, and infernal—who exclaim, *Cause to cease, cause to cease the discord of the world, and make* "peace for those that are afar off," that is, for material and earthly beings; and "peace for those that are near,"[2] that is, for perfect men that are spiritual and endued with reason. But the Phrygians denominate this same also "corpse"—buried in the body, as it were, in a mausoleum and tomb. This, he says, is what has been declared, "Ye are whited sepulchres, full," he says, "of dead men's bones within,"[3] because there is not in you the living man. And again he exclaims, "The dead shall start forth from the graves,"[4] that is, from the earthly bodies, being born again spiritual, not carnal. For this, he says, is the Resurrection that takes place through the gate of heaven, through which, he says, all those that do not enter remain dead. These same Phrygians, however, he says, affirm again that this very [man], as a consequence of the change, [becomes] a god. For, he says, he becomes a god when, having risen from the dead, he will enter into heaven through a gate of this kind. Paul the apostle, he says, knew of this gate, partially opening it in a mystery, and stating "that he was caught up by an angel, and ascended as far as the second and third heaven into paradise itself; and that he beheld sights and heard unspeakable words which it would not be possible for man to declare."[5]

These are, he says, what are by all called the secret mysteries, "which [also we speak], not in words taught of human

[1] John x. 9; Matt. vii. 13.
[2] Eph. ii. 17.
[3] Matt. xxiii. 27.
[4] Matt. xxvii. 52, 53.
[5] 2 Cor. xii. 2.

wisdom, but in those taught of the Spirit, comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him."[1] And these are, he says, the ineffable mysteries of the Spirit, which we alone are acquainted with. Concerning these, he says, the Saviour has declared, "No one can come unto me, except my heavenly Father draw some one unto me."[2] For it is very difficult, he says, to accept and receive this great and ineffable mystery. And again, it is said, the Saviour has declared, "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."[3] And it is necessary that they who perform this [will], not hear it merely, should enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again, he says, the Saviour has declared, "The publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of heaven before you."[4] For "the publicans," he says, are those who receive the revenues[5] of all things;[6] but we, he says, are the publicans, "unto whom the ends of the ages have come."[7] For "the ends," he says, are the seeds scattered from the unportrayable one upon the world, through which the whole cosmical system is completed; for through these also it began to exist. And this, he says, is what has been declared: "The sower went forth to sow. And some fell by the wayside, and was trodden down; and some on the rocky places, and sprang up," he says, "and on account of its having no depth [of soil], it withered and died; and some," he says, "fell on fair and good ground, and brought forth fruit, some a hundred, some sixty, and some thirty fold. Who hath ears," he says, "to hear, let him hear."[8] The meaning of this, he says, is as follows, that none becomes a hearer of these mysteries, unless only the perfect Gnostics. This, he says, is the fair and good land which Moses speaks of: "I will bring

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 13, 14.
[2] John vi. 44.
[3] Matt. vii. 21.
[4] Matt. xxi. 31.
[5] The word translated "revenues" and "ends" is the same—τέλη.
[6] Τῶν ὅλων: some read τῶν ἀνίων.
[7] 1 Cor. x. 11.
[8] Matt. xiii. 3-9; Mark iv. 3-9; Luke viii. 5-8.

you into a fair and good land, into a land flowing with milk and honey."[1] This, he says, is the honey and the milk, by tasting which those that are perfect become kingless, and share in the Pleroma. This, he says, is the Pleroma, through which all existent things that are produced[2] have from the ingenerable one been both produced and completed.

And this same [one] is styled also by[3] the Phrygians "unfruitful." For he is unfruitful when he is carnal, and causes the desire of the flesh. This, he says, is what is spoken: "Every tree not producing good fruit, is cut down and cast into the fire."[4] For these fruits, he says, are only rational living men, who enter in through the third gate. They say, forsooth, "Ye devour the dead, and make the living; [but] if ye eat the living, what will ye do?" They assert, however, that the living "are rational faculties and minds, and men—pearls of that unportrayable one cast before the creature below."[5] This, he says, is what [Jesus] asserts: "Throw not that which is holy unto the dogs, nor pearls unto the swine."[6] Now they allege that the work of swine and dogs is the intercourse of the woman with a man. And the Phrygians, he says, call this very one "goat-herd" [Aipolis], not because, he says, he is accustomed to feed the goats female and male, as the natural [men] use the name, but because, he says, he is "Aipolis" (that is, always ranging over), who both revolves and carries around the entire cosmical system by his revolutionary motion. For the word "Polein" signifies to turn and change things; whence, he says, they all call the two centres of the heaven poles [Poloi]. And the poet says:

> "What sea-born sinless sage comes hither,
> Undying Egyptian Proteus?"[7]

He is not undone,[8] he says,[9] but revolves as it were, and

[1] Deut. xxxi. 20.
[2] Or, "genera."
[3] *ὑπὸ*: Miller reads *ἀπὸ*.
[4] Matt. iii. 10; Luke iii. 9.
[5] *κάτω*: some read *κάρπου*.
[6] Matt. vii. 6.
[7] *Odyssey*, iv. 384.
[8] *πιπράσκεται*, literally, bought and sold, *i.e.* ruined.
[9] *λέγει*: some read *ἀμέλει*, *i.e.* doubtless, of course.

goes round himself. Moreover, also, cities in which we dwell, because we turn and go round in them, are denominated "Poleis." In this manner, he says, the Phrygians call this one "Aipolis," inasmuch as he everywhere ceaselessly turns all things, and changes them into their own peculiar [functions]. And the Phrygians style him, he says, "very fruitful" likewise, "because," says he, "more numerous are the children of the desolate one, than those of her which hath an husband;"[1] that is, things by being born again become immortal, and abide for ever in great numbers, even though the things that are produced may be few; whereas things carnal, he says, are all corruptible, even though very many things [of this type] are produced. For this reason, he says, "Rachel wept[2] for her children, and would not," says [the prophet], "be comforted; sorrowing for them, for she knew," says he, "that they are not."[3] But Jeremiah likewise utters lamentation for Jerusalem below, not the city in Phœnicia, but the corruptible generation below. For Jeremiah likewise, he says, was aware of the Perfect Man, of him that is born again—of water and the Spirit not carnal. At least Jeremiah himself remarked: "He is a man, and who shall know him?"[4] In this manner, [the Naassene] says, the knowledge of the Perfect Man is exceedingly profound, and difficult of comprehension. For, he says, the beginning of perfection is a knowledge of man, whereas knowledge of God is absolute perfection.

The Phrygians, however, assert, he says, that he is likewise "a green ear of corn reaped." And after the Phrygians, the Athenians, while initiating people into the Eleusinian rites, likewise display to those who are being admitted to the highest grade at these mysteries, the mighty, and marvellous, and most perfect secret suitable for one initiated into the highest mystic truths: [I allude to] an ear of corn in silence reaped. But this ear of corn is also [considered] among the Athenians to constitute the perfect enormous illumination

[1] Isa. liv. 1; Gal. iv. 27.

[2] ἔκλαιε: this is in the margin; ἔλαβε is in the MS. The marginal reading is the proper correction of that of the MS.

[3] Jer. xxxi. 15; Matt. ii. 18. [4] Jer. xvii. 9.

hat has descended] from the unportrayable one, just as
ie Hierophant himself [declares]; not, indeed, emasculated
ke Attis, but made a eunuch by means of hemlock, and
espising[1] all carnal generation. [Now] by night in Eleusis,
eneath a huge fire, [the Celebrant,] enacting the great and
ecret mysteries, vociferates and cries aloud, saying, "August
rimo has brought forth a consecrated son, Brimus;" that is,
potent [mother has been delivered of] a potent child. But
evered, he says, is the generation that is spiritual, heavenly,
om above, and potent is he that is so born. For the mystery
called "Eleusin" and "Anactorium." "Eleusin," because,
e says, we who are spiritual come flowing down from Adam
bove; for the word "eleusesthai" is, he says, of the same
nport with the expression "to come." But "Anactorium"
of the same import with the expression "to ascend up-
ards." This, he says, is what they affirm who have been
itiated in the mysteries of the Eleusinians. It is, however,
regulation of law, that those who have been admitted into
ie lesser should again be initiated into the Great Mysteries.
or greater destinies obtain greater portions. But the inferior
ysteries, he says, are those of Proserpine below; in regard
f which mysteries, and the path which leads thither, which
wide and spacious, and conducts those that are perishing
Proserpine, the poet likewise says:

> "But under her a fearful path extends,
> Hollow, miry, yet best guide to
> Highly-honoured Aphrodite's lovely grove."[2]

These, he says, are the inferior mysteries, those appertain-
ig to carnal generation. Now, those men who are initiated
ito these inferior [mysteries] ought to pause, and [then] be
dmitted into the great [and] heavenly [ones]. For they, he
ays, who obtain their shares [in this mystery], receive greater
ortions. For this, he says, is the gate of heaven; and this
house of God, where the Good Deity dwells alone. And
ito this [gate], he says, no unclean person shall enter, nor
ne that is natural or carnal; but it is reserved for the spiritual

[1] παρητημένος: some read ἀπηρτισμένος, *i.e.* perfecting.
[2] These verses have been ascribed to Parmenides.

only. And those who come hither ought to cast off[1] their garments, and become all of them bridegrooms, emasculated through the virginal spirit. For this is the virgin[2] who carries in her womb and conceives and brings forth a son, not animal, not corporeal, but blessed for evermore. Concerning these, it is said, the Saviour has expressly declared that "strait and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there are that enter upon it; whereas broad and spacious is the way that leadeth unto destruction, and many there are that pass through it."[3]

Chapter iv.

Further use made of the System of the Phrygians—Mode of celebrating the Mysteries—the Mystery of the "Great Mother"—these Mysteries have a joint Object of Worship with the Naasseni—the Naasseni allegorize the Scriptural Account of the Garden of Eden—the Allegory applied to the Life of Jesus.

The Phrygians, however, further assert that the father of the universe is "Amygdalus," not a tree, he says, but that he is "Amygdalus" who previously existed; and he having in himself the perfect fruit, as it were, throbbing and moving in the depth, rent his breasts, and produced his now invisible, and nameless, and ineffable child, respecting whom we shall speak. For the word "Amyxai" signifies, as it were, to burst and sever through, as he says [happens] in the case of inflamed bodies, and which have in themselves any tumour; and when doctors have cut this, they call it "Amychai." In this way, he says, the Phrygians call him "Amygdalus," from which proceeded and was born the Invisible [One], "by whom all things were made, and nothing was made without Him."[4] And the Phrygians say that what has been thence produced is "Syrictas" (piper), because the Spirit that is born is harmonious. "For God," he says, "is Spirit; wherefore," he affirms, "neither in this mountain do the true worshippers worship, nor in Jerusalem, but in spirit. For the adoration of the perfect ones," he says, "is spiritual, not carnal."[5] The

[1] Or, "receive." [2] Isa. vii. 14. [3] Matt. vii. 13, 14.
[4] John i. 3. [5] John iv. 21.

Spirit, however, he says, is there where likewise the Father is named, and the Son is there born from this Father. This, he says, is the many-named, thousand-eyed Incomprehensible One, of whom every nature—each, however, differently—is desirous. This, he says, is the word of God, which, he says, is a word of revelation of the Great Power. Wherefore it will be sealed, and hid, and concealed, lying in the habitation where lies the basis of the root of the universe, viz. Æons, Powers, Intelligences, Gods, Angels, delegated Spirits, Entities, Nonentities, Generables, Ingenerables, Incomprehensibles, Comprehensibles, Years, Months, Days, Hours, [and] Indivisible Point from which[1] what is least begins to increase gradually. That which is, he says, nothing, and which consists of nothing, inasmuch as it is indivisible—[I mean] a point—will become through its own reflective power a certain incomprehensible magnitude. This, he says, is the kingdom of heaven, the grain of mustard seed,[2] the point which is indivisible in the body; and, he says, no one knows this [point] save the spiritual only. This, he says, is what has been spoken: "There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard."[3]

They rashly assume in this manner, that whatsoever things have been said and done by all men, [may be made to harmonize] with their own particular mental view, alleging that all things become spiritual. Whence likewise they assert, that those exhibiting themselves in theatres,—not even these say or do anything without premeditation. Therefore, he says, when, on the people assembling in the theatres, any one enters clad in a remarkable robe, carrying a harp and playing a tune [upon it, accompanying it] with a song of the great mysteries, he speaks as follows, not knowing what he says: "Whether [thou art] the race of Saturn or happy Jupiter,[4] or mighty Rhea, Hail, Attis, gloomy mutilation of Rhea. Assyrians style thee thrice-longed-for Adonis, and the whole

[1] ἑξῆς or ἐξεῆς, *i.e.* next.

[2] Matt. xiii. 31, 32; Mark iv. 31, 32; Luke xiii. 19. [3] Ps. xix. 3.

[4] The passage following obviously was in verse originally. It has been restored to its poetic form by Schneidewin.

of Egypt [calls thee] Osiris, celestial horn of the moon; Greeks denominate [thee] Wisdom; Samothracians, venerable Adam; Hæmonians, Corybas; and the Phrygians [name thee] at one time Papa, at another time Corpse, or God, or Fruitless, or Aipolos, or green Ear of Corn that has been reaped, or whom the very fertile Amygdalus produced—a man, a musician." This, he says, is multiform Attis, whom while they celebrate in a hymn, they utter these words: "I will hymn Attis, son of Rhea, not with the buzzing sounds of trumpets, or of Idæan pipers, which accord with [the voices of] the Curetes; but I will mingle [my song] with Apollo's music of harps, 'evoe, evan,' inasmuch as thou art Pan, as thou art Bacchus, as thou art shepherd of brilliant stars."

On account of these and such like reasons, these constantly attend the mysteries called those of the "Great Mother," supposing especially that they behold by means of the ceremonies performed there the entire mystery. For these have nothing more than the ceremonies that are performed there, except that they are not emasculated: they merely complete the work of the emasculated. For with the utmost severity and vigilance they enjoin [on their votaries] to abstain, as if they were emasculated, from intercourse with a woman. The rest, however, of the proceeding [observed in these mysteries], as we have declared at some length, [they follow] just as [if they were] emasculated persons. And they do not worship any other object but Naas, [from thence] being styled Naasseni. But Naas is the serpent from whom, *i.e.* from the word Naas, [the Naassene] says, are all that under heaven are denominated temples [Naous]. And [he states] that to him alone—that is, Naas—is dedicated every shrine and every initiatory rite, and every mystery; and, in general, that a religious ceremony could not be discovered under heaven, in which a temple (Naos) has no existence; and in the temple itself is Naas, from whom it has received its denomination of temple (Naos). And these affirm that the serpent is a moist substance, just as Thales also, the Milesian, [spoke of water as an originating principle,] and that nothing of existing things, immortal or mortal, animate or inanimate, could con-

sist at all without him. And that all things are subject unto him, and that he is good, and that he has all things in himself, as in the horn of the one-horned bull;[1] so as that he imparts beauty and bloom to all things that exist according to their own nature and peculiarity, as if passing through all, just as [" the river] proceeding forth from Edem, and dividing itself into four heads."[2]

They assert, however, that Edem is the brain, as it were, bound and tightly fastened in encircling robes, as if [in] heaven. But they suppose that man, as far as the head only, is Paradise; therefore that "this river, which proceeds out of Edem," that is, from the brain, "is divided into four heads,[3] and that the name of the first river is called Phison; this is that which encompasseth all the land of Havilath: there is gold, and the gold of that land is excellent, and there is bdellium and the onyx stone." This, he says, is the eye, which, by its honour [among the rest of the bodily organs], and its colours, furnishes testimony to what is spoken. "But the name of the second river is Gihon: this is that which compasseth the land of Ethiopia." This, he says, is hearing, since Gihon is [a tortuous stream], resembling a sort of labyrinth. "And the name of the third is Tigris. This is that which floweth over against [the country of] the Assyrians." This, he says,[4] is smelling, employing the exceedingly rapid current of the stream [as an analogy of this sense]. But it flows over against [the country of] the Assyrians, because in every act of respiration following upon expiration, the breath drawn in from the external atmosphere enters with swifter motion and greater force. For this, he says, is the nature of respiration. "But the fourth river is Euphrates." This, they assert, is the mouth, through which are the passage outwards of prayer, and the passage inwards of nourishment. [The mouth] makes glad, and nurtures and fashions the Spiritual Perfect Man. This, he says, is "the water that is above the firmament,"[5] concerning which, he says, the Saviour has declared, "If thou knewest

[1] Deut. xxxiii. 17. [2] Gen. ii. 10. [3] Gen. ii. 11–14.
[4] Or, "they say." [5] Gen. i. 7.

who it is that asks, thou wouldst have asked from Him, and He would have given you to drink living, bubbling water."[1] Into this water, he says, every nature enters, choosing its own substances; and its peculiar quality comes to each nature from this water, he says, more than iron does to the magnet, and the gold to the backbone[2] of the sea falcon, and the chaff to the amber.

But if any one, he says, is blind from birth, and has never beheld the true light, "which lighteneth every man that cometh into the world,"[3] by us let him recover his sight, and behold, as it were, through some paradise planted with every description of tree, and supplied with abundance of fruits, water coursing its way through all the trees and fruits; and he will see that from one and the same water the olive chooses for itself and draws the oil, and the vine the wine; and [so is it with] the rest of plants, according to each *genus*. That Man, however, he says, is of no reputation in the world, but of illustrious fame in heaven, being betrayed by those who are ignorant [of his perfections] to those who know him not, being accounted as a drop from a cask.[4] We, however, he says, are spiritual, who, from the life-giving water of Euphrates, which flows through the midst of Babylon, choose our own peculiar quality as we pass through the true gate, which is the blessed Jesus. And of all men, we Christians alone are those who in the third gate celebrate the mystery, and are anointed there with the unspeakable chrism from a horn, as David [was anointed], not from an earthen vessel,[5] he says, as [was] Saul, who held converse with the evil demon[6] of carnal concupiscence.

[1] John iv. 10.

[2] κερκίς. This word literally means the rod; or, in later times, the comb fixed into the ἱστός (*i.e.* the upright loom), for the purpose of driving the threads of the woof home, thus making the web even and close. It is, among other significations, applied to bones in the leg or arm. Cruice and Schneidewin translate κερκίς by *spina*, a rendering adopted above. The allusion is made again in chap. xii. and chap. xvi. In the last passage, κέντρον (spur) is used instead of κερκίς.

[3] John i. 9, ix. 1.

[4] Isa. xl. 15.

[5] 1 Sam. x. 1, xvi. 13.

[6] 1 Sam. xvi. 14.

Chapter v.

Explanation of the System of the Naasseni taken from one of their Hymns.

The foregoing remarks, then, though few out of many, we have thought proper to bring forward. For innumerable are the silly and crazy attempts of folly. But since, to the best of our ability, we have explained the unknown Gnosis, it seemed expedient likewise to adduce the following point. This psalm of theirs has been composed, by which they seem to celebrate all the mysteries of the error [advanced by] them in a hymn, couched in the following terms:—

The world's producing law was Primal Mind,[1]
And next was First-born's outpoured Chaos;
And third, the soul received its law of toil:
Encircl'd, therefore, with an aqueous[2] form,
With care o'erpowered it succumbs to death.
Now holding sway, it eyes the light,
And now it weeps on misery flung;
Now it mourns, now it thrills with joy;
Now it wails, now it hears its doom;
Now it hears its doom, now it dies,
And now it leaves us, never to return.
It, hapless straying, treads the maze of ills.
But Jesus said, Father, behold,
A strife of ills across the earth
Wanders from thy breath [of wrath];
But bitter Chaos [man] seeks to shun,
And knows not how to pass it through.
On this account, O Father, send me;
Bearing seals, I shall descend;
Through ages whole I'll sweep,
All mysteries I'll unravel,
And forms of Gods I'll show;
And secrets of the saintly path,
Styled "Gnosis," I'll impart.

[1] The text of this hymn is very corrupt. The Abbe Cruice explains the connection of the hymn with the foregoing exposition, and considers it to have a reference to the Metempsychosis, which forms part of the system of the Naasseni.

[2] Or, "nimble."

Chapter vi.

The Ophites the grand Source of Heresy.

These doctrines, then, the Naasseni attempt to establish, calling themselves Gnostics. But since the error is many-headed and diversified, resembling, in truth, the hydra that we read of in history; when, at one blow, we have struck off the heads of this [delusion] by means of refutation, employing the wand of truth, we shall entirely exterminate the monster. For neither do the remaining heresies present much difference of aspect from this, having a mutual connection through [the same] spirit of error. But since, altering the words and the names of the serpent, they wish that there should be many heads of the serpent, neither thus shall we fail thoroughly to refute them as they desire.

Chapter vii.

The System of the Peratæ—their Tritheism—Explanation of the Incarnation.

There is also unquestionably a certain other [head of the hydra,[1] namely, the heresy] of the Peratæ,[2] whose blasphemy against Christ has for many years escaped notice. And the present is a fitting opportunity for bringing to light the secret mysteries of such [heretics]. These allege that the world is one, triply divided. And of the triple division with them, one portion is a certain single originating principle, just as it were a huge fountain, which can be divided mentally

[1] Something is wanting after Περατική in the text. Miller supplies the deficiency, and his conjecture is adopted above. Literally, it should be rendered—"the Peratic heresy, the blasphemy of which [heretics]," etc.

[2] Most of what is mentioned by Hippolytus concerning this sect is new, as the chief writers on the early heresies are comparatively silent concerning the Peratæ; indeed, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius completely so. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* vii. (p. 765, ed. Heins.), mentions the Peratics, and Theodoret more fully than the rest speaks of them (*Hæret. fabul.* i. 17). Theodoret, however, as the Abbe Cruice thinks, has appropriated his remarks from Hippolytus.

into infinite segments. Now the first segment, and that which, according to them, is [a segment] in preference [to others],[1] is a triad, and it is called a Perfect Good, [and] a Paternal Magnitude. And the second portion of the triad of these is, as it were, a certain infinite crowd of potentialities that are generated[2] from themselves, [while] the third is formal.[3] And the first, which is good, is unbegotten, and the second is a self-producing good, and the third is created; and hence it is that they expressly declare that there are three Gods, three Logoi, three Minds, three Men. For to each portion of the world, after the division has been made, they assign both Gods, and Logoi, and Minds, and Men, and the rest; but that from unorigination and the first segment[4] of the world, when afterwards the world had attained unto its completion, there came down from above, for causes that we shall afterwards declare, in the time of Herod a certain man called Christ, with a threefold nature, and a threefold body, and a threefold power, [and] having in himself all [species of] concretions and potentialities [derivable] from the three divisions of the world; and that this, says [the Peratic], is what is spoken: "It pleased him that in him should dwell all fulness bodily,"[5] and in Him the entire Divinity resides of the triad as thus divided. For, he says,

[1] *προεχεστέρα* or *προσεχεστέρα*, contiguous. This is Miller's reading, but is devoid of sense. *Προεχεστέρα*, adopted by Schneidewin and Cruice, might bear the meaning of the expression *par excellence*.

[2] *γεγεννημένων*: Miller reads *γεγεννημένου*, agreeing with *πλῆθος*. Bernays, in his *Epistola Critica* addressed to Bunsen, proposes the former reading.

[3] *εἰδικοῦ*: some read *ἰδικοῦ*. This term, adopted from the Platonic philosophy, is translated *specialis* by logicians, and *transcendentalis* by metaphysicians. It expresses the pre-existent form in the divine mind, according to which material objects were fashioned. The term seems out of place as used by the Peratics to denominate a corruptible and perishing world. We should rather expect *ὑλικοῦ*, *i.e.* material. (See Aristotle's masterly exposition of the subject of the *εἶδος* and *ὕλη* in his *Metaphysics*, book vi., and p. 64 of the analysis prefixed to the translation in Bohn's Library.)

[4] *πρώτης* or *πρὸ τῆς*, "antecedent to the segment."

[5] *σωματικῶς*, *i.e.* substantially. See Col. i. 19, ii. 9.

that from the two superjacent worlds—namely, from that [portion of the triad] which is unbegotten, and from that which is self-producing—there have been conveyed down into this world in which we are, seeds of all sorts of potentialities. What, however, the mode of the descent is, we shall afterwards declare.

[The Peratic] then says that Christ descended from above from unorigination, that by his descent all things triply divided might be saved. For some things, he says, being borne down from above, will ascend through Him, whereas whatever [beings] form plots against those which are carried down from above are cast off,[1] and being placed in a state of punishment, are renounced. This, he says, is what is spoken: "For the Son of man came not into the world to destroy the world, but that the world through Him might be saved." The world, he says, he denominates those two parts that are situated above, viz. both the unbegotten [portion of the triad], and the self-produced one. And when Scripture, he says, uses the words, "that we may not be condemned with the world," it alludes to the third portion of [the triad, that is], the formal world. For the third portion, which he styles the world [in which we are], must perish; but the two [remaining portions], which are situated above, must be rescued from corruption.

Chapter viii.

The Peratæ derive their System from the Astrologers—this proved by a Statement of the Astrological Theories of the Zodiac—hence the Terminology of the Peratic Heretics.

Let us, then, in the first place, learn how [the Peratists], deriving this doctrine from astrologers, act despitefully towards

[1] ἀφίενται: some read ἀφίει, *i.e.* dismisses; some ἀφιεῖ εἰκῇ, *i.e.* heedlessly casts off. Hippolytus, in his *Summary of the Peratic Heresy* in book x., has ἀφίενται εἰκῇ, which Cruice translates *temere absolvuntur*. Schneidewin has in the same passage ἀφίενται merely, and translates it *abjiciuntur*. In both places Bernays suggests ὀφιοειδῆ, *i.e.* those of the nature of the Serpent.

Christ, working destruction for those who follow them in an error of this description. For the astrologers, alleging that there is one world, divide it into the twelve fixed portions of the zodiacal signs, and call the world of the fixed zodiacal signs one immoveable world; and the other they affirm to be a world of erratic [signs], both in power, and position, and number, and that it extends as far as the moon.[1] And [they lay down], that [one] world derives from [the other] world a certain power, and mutual participation [in that power], and that the subjacent obtain this participation from the superjacent [portions]. In order, however, that what is [here] asserted may be perspicuous, I shall one by one employ those very expressions of the astrologers; [and in doing so] I shall only be reminding my readers of statements previously made in the department of the work where we have explained the entire art of the astrologers. What, then, the opinions are which those [speculators] entertain, are as follow:—

[Their doctrine is], that from an emanation of the stars the generations of the subjacent [parts] is consummated. For, as they wistfully gazed upward upon heaven, the Chaldæans asserted that [the seven stars][2] contain a reason for the efficient causes of the occurrence of all the events that happen unto us, and that the parts of the fixed zodiacal signs co-operate [in this influence]. Into twelve [parts they divide the zodiacal circle], and each zodiacal sign into thirty portions, and each portion into sixty diminutive parts; for so they denominate the very smallest parts, and those that are indivisible. And of the zodiacal signs, they term some male, but others feminine; and some with two bodies, but others not so; and some tropical, whereas others firm. The male signs, then, are either feminine, which possess a co-operative nature for the procreation of males, [or are themselves productive of females.] For Aries is a male zodiacal sign, but Taurus female; and the rest [are denominated] according to the same analogy, some male, but others female. And I suppose that the Pythagoreans, being swayed from such [considerations],

[1] Or, "is part of the moon."

[2] Some omissions here are supplied from Sextus Empiricus.

style the Monad male, and the Duad female; and, again, the Triad male, and analogically the remainder of the even and odd numbers. Some, however, dividing each zodiacal sign into twelve parts, employ almost the same method. For example, in Aries, they style the first of the twelve parts both Aries and a male, but the second both Taurus and a female, and the third both Gemini and a male; and the same plan is pursued in the case of the rest of the parts. And they assert that there are signs with two bodies, viz. Gemini and the signs diametrically opposite, namely Sagittarius, and Virgo, and Pisces, and that the rest have not two bodies. And [they state] that some are likewise tropical, and when the sun stands in these, he causes great turnings[1] of the surrounding [sign]. Aries is a sign of this description, and that which is diametrically opposite to it, just as Libra, and Capricorn, and Cancer. For in Aries is the vernal turning, and in Capricorn that of winter, and in Cancer that of summer, and in Libra that of autumn.

The details, however, concerning this system we have minutely explained in the book preceding this; and from it any one who wishes instruction [on the point], may learn how it is that the originators of this Peratic heresy, viz. Euphrates the Peratic, and Celbes the Carystian,[2] have, in the transference [into their own system of opinions from these sources], made alterations in name only, while in reality they have put forward similar tenets. [Nay more], they have, with immoderate zeal, themselves devoted [their attention] to

[1] Or, "produces alterations and causes turnings."

[2] Celbes, as observed in a former note, has two other forms in *The Refutation*, viz. Acembes and Ademes. He is called Carystius, and the other founder of the heresy Peraticus. As the latter term is frequently used to designate Eubœa, *i.e.* the country beyond (πέραν) the continent, it is inferred that Carystius has a similar import. This would seem placed beyond conjecture by a passage (*Strom* vii. p. 765, ed. Heins.) in Clemens Alexandrinus, already alluded to, who says that some heresies, *e.g.* those of the Marcionites and Basilidians, derived their denomination from the names, whereas others from the country, of their founders. As an instance of the latter, he mentions the Peratics (see note 3, p. 164).

the art [of the astrologers]. For also the astrologers speak of the limits of the stars, in which they assert that the dominant stars have greater influence; as, for instance, on some they act injuriously, while on others they act well. And of these they denominate some malicious, and some beneficent. And [stars] are said to look upon one another, and to harmonize with each other, so that they appear according to [the shape of] a triangle or square. The stars, looking on one another, are figured according to [the shape of [1]] a triangle, having an intervening distance of the extent of three zodiacal signs; whereas [those that have an interval of] two zodiacal signs are figured according to [the shape of] a square. And [their doctrine is], that as in the same way as in a man, the subjacent parts sympathize with the head, and the head likewise sympathizes with the subjacent parts, so all terrestrial [sympathize] with super-lunar [2] objects. But [the astrologers go further than this [3]]; for there exists, [according to them,] a certain difference and incompatibility [4] between these, so as that they do not involve one and the same union. This combination and divergence of the stars, which is a Chaldæan [tenet], has been arrogated to themselves by those of whom we have previously spoken.

Now these, falsifying the name of truth, proclaim as a doctrine of Christ an insurrection of Æons and revolts of good into [the ranks of] evil powers; and they speak of the confederations of good powers with wicked ones. Denominating them, therefore, Toparchai and Proastioi,[5] and [though thus] framing for themselves very many other names not suggested [to them from other sources], they have yet unskilfully systematized the entire imaginary doctrine of the

[1] Some deficiencies in the text are filled up from Sextus Empiricus.

[2] Or, "celestial."

[3] This expression ἀλλὰ γάρ requires to have the ellipsis supplied as above. It may be freely rendered "nay more." Miller reads Ἄλλη γάρ, *i.e.* "There is some other difference," etc.; but this does not agree with Sextus Empiricus.

[4] Or, "sympathy:" συμπάθεια is, however, properly altered into ἀσυμπάθεια on the authority of Sextus.

[5] *i.e.* "Rulers of localities and suburbans."

astrologers concerning the stars. And since they have introduced a supposition pregnant with immense error, they shall be refuted through the instrumentality of our admirable arrangement. For I shall set down, in contrast with the previously mentioned Chaldaic art of the astrologers, some of the Peratic[1] treatises, from which, by means of comparison, there will be an opportunity of perceiving how the Peratic doctrines are those confessedly of the astrologers, not of Christ.

Chapter ix.

System of the Peratæ explained out of one of their own Books.

It seems, then, expedient to set forth a certain one of the books held[2] in repute amongst them, in which the following passage[3] occurs: "I am a voice of arousal from slumber in the age of night. Henceforward I commence to strip the power which is from chaos. This power is that of the lowest depth of mud, which uprears the slime of the incorruptible [and] humid expanse of space. And it is the entire power of the convulsion, which, ever in motion, and presenting the colour of water, whirls things on that are stationary, restrains things tremulous, sets things free as they proceed, lightens[4] things as they abide, removes things on the increase, a faithful steward of the track of the breezes, enjoying the things

[1] The Peratic heresy both Hippolytus and Theodoret state to have originated from Euphrates. Origen, on the other hand, states (*Contr. Cels.* vi. 28, p. 294, ed. Spenc.) that Euphrates was founder of the Ophites. The inference from this is, that Origen was not author of *The Refutation.*

[2] Hippolytus at the end of this chapter mentions the title of one of their books, Οἱ προάστειοι ἕως αἰθέρος, "The Suburbans up to the Air." Bunsen suggests Περάται ἕως αἰθέρος, "The Transcendental Etherians." (See note 2, p. 158.)

[3] The Abbe Cruice considers that the following system of cosmogony is translated into Greek from some Chaldaic or Syriac work. He recognises in it likewise a Jewish element, to be accounted for from the fact that the Jews during the Babylonish captivity imbibed the principles of the Oriental philosophy. What, therefore, is given by Hippolytus may have a Judaistic origin.

[4] Schneidewin considers the text here corrupt.

disgorged from the twelve eyes of the law,[1] [and] manifesting a seal[2] to the power which along with itself distributes the downborne invisible waters, and has been called Thalassa. This power ignorance has been accustomed to denominate Cronus, guarded with chains because he tightly bound the fold of the dense and misty and obscure and murky Tartarus. According to the image of this were produced Cepheus, Prometheus, [and] Japetus. The Power to which has been entrusted Thalassa[3] is hermaphrodite. And it fastens the hissing sound arising from the twelve mouths into twelve pipes, and pours it forth. And the power itself is subtle, and removes the controlling, boisterous, upward motion [of the sea], and seals the tracks of its paths, lest [any antagonistic power] should wage war or introduce any alteration. The tempestuous daughter of this one is a faithful protectress of all sorts of waters. Her name is Chorzar. Ignorance is in the habit of styling this [power] Neptune, according to whose image was produced Glaucus, Melicertes, Ino, Nebroë.[4] He that is encircled with the pyramid of twelve angles,[5] and darkens the gate into the pyramid with various colours, and completes the entire in the sable hues of Night: this one ignorance denominated Cronus.[6] And his ministers were five,—first U, second Aoai, third Uo, fourth Uoab, fifth . . . . . .

[1] The Abbe Cruice observes that the reference here is to the second book of the law (Ex. xv. 27), where mention is made of the twelve fountains of Elim. The Hebrew word (עין) stands for both an eye and a fountain. Hence the error by the Greek translator.

[2] *i.e.* a poetic expression, as Cruice remarks, for closing the seal. (See Job ix. 7.)

[3] Schneidewin refers us to a passage from Berosus, who affirms that this person was styled Thalatta by the Greeks, Thalath by the Chaldæans; another denomination being Omorka, or Omoroka, or Marcaia. The Abbe Cruice, however, sets little value on these names, which, following the judgment of Scaliger, he pronounces spurious. It is unnecessary to remind scholars that the authenticity of Berosus has collapsed under the attacks of modern criticism.

[4] Miller suggests Νεφέλη, Cruice Nebo.

[5] Cruice thinks this may be a figure of the year and of twelve months.

[6] Miller has Κόρην.

Other trustworthy managers [there are] of his province of night and day, who repose in their own power. Ignorance denominated these the erratic stars, from whom depends a corruptible generation. Manager of the rising of the star[1] is Carphacasemeocheir, [and] Eccabbacara [is the same]. Ignorance is in the habit of denominating these Curetes chief of the winds; third in order is Ariel, according to whose image was generated Æolus, Briares. And chief of the twelve-houred nocturnal [power] is Soclan, whom ignorance is accustomed to style Osiris; [and] according to the image of this one was born Admetus, Medea, Helen, Æthusa. Chief of the twelve-houred diurnal power is Euno. This is manager of the rising of the star Protocamarus and of the ethereal [region], but ignorance has denominated him Isis. A sign of this one is the Dog-star, according to whose image were born Ptolemæus son of Arsinoe, Didyma, Cleopatra, and Olympias. God's right-hand power is that which ignorance has denominated Rhea, according to whose image were produced Attis, Mygdon,[2] [and] Œnone. The left-hand power has lordship over sustenance, and ignorance is in the habit of styling this Ceres, [while] her name is Bena; and according to the image of this one were born Celeus, Triptolemus, Misyr, and Praxidica.[3] The right-hand power has lordship over fruits. This one ignorance has denominated Mena, according to whose image were born Bumegas,[4] Ostanes, Mercury Trismegistus, Curites, Petosiris, Zodarium, Berosus, Astrampsuchus, [and] Zoroaster. The left-hand power is [lord] of fire, [and] ignorance has denominated this one Vulcan, according to whose image were born Erichthonius, Achilles, Capaneus, Phaëthon,[5] Meleager, Tydeus, Enceladus, Raphael, Suriel, [and] Omphale. There are three intermediate powers suspended from air, authors of generation. These ignorance has been in the habit of denominating Fates; and according to the image of these were produced the house of Priam, the house of Laius, Ino,

[1] Or, "air."
[2] Miller reads Μυγδώνη, others Μυγδόνη.
[3] Miller has Ἀπραξία.
[4] Miller suggests Βουζύγης.
[5] Miller reads Φλέγων.

Autonoe, Agave, Athamas, Procne, Danaides, and Peliades. A power [there is] hermaphrodite, always continuing in infancy, never waxing old, cause of beauty, pleasure, maturity, desire, and concupiscence; and ignorance has been accustomed to style this Eros, according to whose image were born Paris, Narcissus, Ganymede, Endymion, Tithonus, Icarius, Leda, Amymone, Thetis, Hesperides, Jason, Leander, [and] Hero." These are Proastioi up to Æther, for with this title also he inscribes the book.

Chapter x.

The Peratic Heresy nominally different from Astrology, but really the same System allegorized.

It has been easily made evident to all, that the heresy of the Peratæ is altered in name only from the [art] of the astrologers. And the rest of the books of these [heretics] contain the same method, if it were agreeable to any one to wade through them all. For, as I said, they suppose that the causes of the generation of all begotten things are things unbegotten and superjacent, and that the world with us has been produced after the mode of emanation, which [world] they denominate formal. And [they maintain] that all those stars together which are beheld in the firmament have been causes of the generation of this world. They have, however, altered the name of these, as one may perceive from the Proastioi by means of a comparison [of the two systems]. And secondly, according to the same method as that whereby the world was made from a supernal emanation, they affirm that in this manner objects here derive from the emanation of the stars their generation, and corruption, and arrangement. Since, then, astrologers are acquainted with the horoscope, and meridian, and setting, and the point opposite the meridian; and since these stars occupy at different times different positions [1] in space, on account of the perpetual revolution of the universe, there are [necessarily] at different periods different declinations towards a centre, and [different]

[1] γινομένων; some read κινουμένων, *i.e.* have different motions.

ascensions to centres.[1] [Now the Peratic heretics], affixing an allegorical import to this arrangement of the astrologers, delineate the centre, as it were, a god and monad and lord over universal generation, whereas the declination [is regarded by them as a power] on the left, and ascension on the right. When any one, therefore, falling in with the treatises of these [heretics], finds mention among them of right or left power, let him recur to the centre, and the declination, and the ascension [of the Chaldæan sages, and] he will clearly observe that the entire system of these [Peratæ] consists of the astrological doctrine.

Chapter xi.

Why they call themselves Peratæ—their Theory of Generation supported by an Appeal to Antiquity—their Interpretation of the Exodus of Israel—their System of "the Serpent"—deduced by them from Scripture—this the real import of the Doctrines of the Astrologers.

They denominate themselves, however, Peratæ, imagining that none of those things existing by generation can escape the determined lot for those things that derive their existence from generation. For if, says [the Peratic], anything be altogether begotten, it also perishes, as also is the opinion of the Sibyl.[2] But we alone, he says, who are conversant with the necessity of generation, and the paths through which man has entered into the world, and who have been accurately instructed [in these matters], we alone are competent to proceed through and pass beyond destruction.[3] But water, he says, is destruction; nor did the world, he says, perish by any other thing quicker than by water. Water, however, is that which rolls around among the Proastioi, [and] they assert [it to be] Cronus. For such a power, he says, is of the colour of water; and this power, he says—that is, Cronus—

[1] κέντροις: Schneidewin suggests κέντρων.

[2] See *Oracula Sibyllina Fragm.* ii. vers. 1.

[3] περᾶσαι; hence their name Peratics, *i.e.* Transcendentalists. Bunsen considers, however, that such a derivation as this was not the true one (see note 2, p. 158), but merely an after-thought. The title of one of the Peratic treatises, as altered by Bunsen from Οἱ προάστειοι ἕως αἰθέρος into Οἱ Περάται ἕως αἰθέρος, *i.e.* "the Transcendental Etherians," would agree with their subsequent assumption of this title.

none of those things existent by generation can escape. For Cronus is a cause to every generation, in regard of succumbing under destruction, and there could not exist [an instance of] generation in which Cronus does not interfere. This, he says, is what the poets also affirm, and what even appals the gods:

> "For know, he says, this earth and spacious heaven above,
> And Styx' flooded water, which is the oath
> That greatest is, and dreaded most by gods of happy life."

And not only, he says, do the poets make this statement, but already also the very wisest men among the Greeks. And Heraclitus is even one of these, employing the following words: "For to souls water becomes death." This death, [the Peratic] says, seizes the Egyptians in the Red Sea, along with their chariots. All, however, who are ignorant [of this fact], he says, are Egyptians. And this, they assert, is the departure from Egypt, [that is,] from the body. For they suppose little Egypt to be body, and that it crosses the Red Sea—that is, the water of corruption, which is Cronus—and that it reaches a place beyond the Red Sea, that is, generation; and that it comes into the wilderness, that is, that it attains a condition independent of generation, where there exist promiscuously all the gods of destruction and the God of salvation.

Now, he says, the stars are the gods of destruction, which impose upon existent things the necessity of alterable generation. These, he says, Moses denominated serpents of the wilderness, which gnaw and utterly ruin those who imagined that they had crossed the Red Sea. To those, then, he says, who of the children of Israel were bitten in the wilderness, Moses exhibited the real and perfect serpent; and they who believed on this serpent were not bitten in the wilderness, that is, [were not assailed] by [evil] powers. No one therefore, he says, is there who is able to save and deliver those that come forth from Egypt, that is, from the body and from this world, unless alone the serpent that is perfect and replete with fulness. Upon this [serpent], he says, he who fixes his hope is not destroyed by the snakes of the wilderness, that is, by the gods of generation. [This statement] is written, he says, in a book of Moses. This serpent, he says, is the power

that attended Moses,[1] the rod that was turned into a serpent. The serpents, however, of the magicians—[that is,] the gods of destruction—withstood the power of Moses in Egypt, but the rod of Moses reduced them all to subjection and slew them. This universal serpent is, he says, the wise discourse of Eve. This, he says, is the mystery of Edem, this the river of Edem; this the mark that was set upon Cain, that any one who findeth him might not kill him. This, he says,[2] is Cain,[3] whose sacrifice[4] the god of this world did not accept. The gory sacrifice, however, of Abel he approved of; for the ruler of this world rejoices in [offerings of] blood. This, he says, is he who appeared in the last days, in form of a man, in the times of Herod, being born after the likeness of Joseph, who was sold by the hand of his brethren, to whom alone belonged the coat of many colours. This, he says, is he who is according to the likeness of Esau, whose garment—he not being himself present—was blessed; who did not receive, he says, the benediction uttered by him of enfeebled vision.[5] He acquired, however, wealth from a source independent of this, receiving nothing from him whose eyes were dim; and Jacob saw his countenance,[6] as a man beholds the face of God. In regard of this, he says, it has been written that "Nebrod was a mighty hunter before the Lord."[7] And there are, he says, many who closely imitate this [Nimrod]: as numerous are they as the gnawing [serpents] which were seen in the wilderness by the children of Israel, from which that perfect serpent which Moses set up delivered those that were bitten. This, he says, is that which has been declared: "In the same manner as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so also must the Son of man be lifted up."[8] According to the likeness of this was made in the desert the brazen serpent which Moses set up. Of this alone, he says, the image is in heaven, always conspicuous in light.

This, he says, is the great beginning respecting which Scripture has spoken. Concerning this, he says it has been

[1] Ex. iv. 2–4, 17, vii. 9–13.
[2] Or, "they say."
[3] Gen. iv. 15.
[4] Gen. iv. 5.
[5] Gen. xxvii. 1.
[6] Gen. xxxiii. 10.
[7] Gen. x. 9.
[8] John iii. 14, 15.

declared: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. This was in the beginning with God, all things were made by him, and without him was not one thing that was made. And what was formed in him is life."[1] And in him, he says, has been formed Eve; [now] Eve is life. This, however, he says, is Eve, mother of all living,[2]—a common nature, that is, of gods, angels, immortals, mortals, irrational creatures, [and] rational ones. For, he says, the expression "all" he uttered of all [existences]. And if the eyes of any, he says, are blessed, this one, looking upward on the firmament, will behold at the mighty summit[3] of heaven the beauteous image of the serpent turning itself, and becoming an originating principle of every [species of] motion to all things that are being produced. He will [thereby] know that without him nothing consists, either of things in heaven, or things on earth, or things under the earth. Not night, not moon, not fruits, not generation, not wealth, not sustenance, not anything at all of existent things, is without his guidance. In regard of this, he says, is the great wonder which is beheld in the firmament by those who are able to observe it. For, he says, at this top of his head, a fact which is more incredible than all things to those who are ignorant, "are setting and rising mingled one with other." This it is in regard of which ignorance is in the habit of affirming: in heaven

> "Draco revolves, marvel mighty of monster dread."[4]

And on both sides of him have been placed Corona and Lyra; and above, near the top itself of the head, is visible the piteous man "Engonasis,"

> "Holding the right foot's end of Draco fierce."[5]

And at the back of Engonasis is an imperfect serpent, with both hands tightly secured by Anguitenens, and being hindered from touching Corona that lies beside the perfect serpent.

[1] John i. 1-4.

[2] The Abbe Cruice thinks that Hippolytus is here quoting from the *Gospel of Eve* (see Epiph. *Hær.* xxvi. 2).

[3] ἄκρᾳ: this is a conjectural reading instead of ἀρχῇ.

[4] Aratus, *Phænom.* v. 62.

[5] Aratus, *Phænom.* v. 46.

Chapter xii.

Compendious Statement of the Doctrines of the Peratæ.

This is the diversified wisdom of the Peratic heresy, which it is difficult to declare in its entirety, so intricate is it on account of its seeming to consist of the astrological art. As far forth, then, as this is possible, we shall briefly explain the whole force of this [heresy]. In order, however, that we may by a compendious statement elucidate the entire doctrine of these persons, it appears expedient to subjoin the following observations. According to them, the universe is Father, Son, [and] Matter; [but] each of these three has endless capacities in itself. Intermediate, then, between the Matter and the Father sits the Son, the Word, the Serpent, always being in motion towards the unmoved Father, and [towards] matter itself in motion. And at one time he is turned towards the Father, and receives the powers into his own person; but at another time takes up these powers, and is turned towards Matter. And Matter, [though] devoid of attribute, and being unfashioned, moulds [into itself] forms from the Son which the Son moulded from the Father.

But the Son derives shape from the Father after a mode ineffable, and unspeakable, and unchangeable; [that is,] in such a manner as Moses says that the colours of the conceived [kine] flowed from the rods[1] which were fixed in the drinking-troughs. And in like manner, again, that capacities flowed also from the Son into Matter, similarly to the power in reference to conception which came from the rods upon the conceived [kine]. And the difference of colours, and the dissimilarity which flowed from the rods through the waters upon the sheep, is, he says, the difference of corruptible and incorruptible generation. As, however, one who paints from nature, though he takes nothing away from animals, transfers by his pencil all forms to the canvas; so the Son, by a power which belongs to himself, transfers paternal marks from the Father into matter. All the paternal marks are here, and there are not any more. For if any one, he says, of those [beings] which are here will have

[1] Gen. xxx. 37–39.

strength to perceive that he is a paternal mark transferred hither from above, [and that he is] incarnate (just as by the conception resulting from the rod a something white is produced), he is of the same substance altogether with the Father in heaven, and returns thither. If, however, he may not happen upon this doctrine, neither will he understand the necessity of generation, just as an abortion born at night will perish at night. When, therefore, he says, the Saviour observes, "your Father which is in heaven,"[1] he alludes to that one from whom the Son deriving his characteristics has transferred them hither. When, however, [Jesus] remarks, "Your father is a murderer from the beginning,"[2] he alludes to the Ruler and Demiurge of matter, who, appropriating the marks delivered from the Son, generated him here who from the beginning was a murderer, for his work causes corruption and death.

No one, then, he says, can be saved or return [into heaven] without the Son, and the Son is the Serpent. For as he brought down from above the paternal marks, so again he carries up from thence these marks roused from a dormant condition and rendered paternal characteristics, substantial ones from the unsubstantial Being, transferring them hither from thence. This, he says, is what is spoken: "I am the door."[3] And he transfers [those marks], he says,[4] to those who close the eyelid, as the naphtha drawing the fire in every direction towards itself; nay rather, as the magnet [attracting] the iron and not anything else, or just as the backbone of the sea falcon, the gold and nothing else, or as the chaff is led by the amber. In this manner, he says, is the portrayed, perfect, and consubstantial genus drawn again from the world by the Serpent; nor does he [attract] anything else, as it has been sent down by him. For a proof of this, they adduce

[1] Matt. vii. 11. [2] John viii. 44. [3] John x. 7.

[4] There is an hiatus here. Miller, who also suggests *διαφέρει* instead of *μεταφέρει*, supplies the deficiency as translated above. The Abbe Cruice fills up the hiatus by words taken from a somewhat similar passage in the third chapter of book viii., but the obscurity still remains. Miller thinks there is a reference to Isa. vi. 10.

the anatomy[1] of the brain, assimilating, from the fact of its immobility, the brain itself to the Father, and the cerebellum to the Son, because of its being moved and being of the form of [the head of] a serpent. And they allege that this [cerebellum], by an ineffable and inscrutable process, attracts through the pineal gland the spiritual and life-giving substance emanating from the vaulted chamber[2] [in which the brain is embedded]. And on receiving this, the cerebellum in an ineffable manner imparts the ideas, just as the Son does, to matter; or, in other words, the seeds and the genera of the things produced according to the flesh flow along into the spinal marrow. Employing this exemplar, [the heretics] seem to adroitly introduce their secret mysteries, which are delivered in silence. Now it would be impious for us to declare these; yet it is easy to form an idea of them, by reason of the many statements that have been made.

Chapter xiii.

The Peratic Heresy not generally known.

But since I consider that I have plainly explained the Peratic heresy, and by many [arguments] have rendered evident [a system that hitherto] has always escaped notice, and is altogether[3] a tissue of fable, and one that disguises its own peculiar venom, it seems expedient to advance no further statement beyond those already put forward; for the opinions propounded by [the heretics] themselves are sufficient for their own condemnation.

Chapter xiv.

The System of the Sethians—their Triad of infinite Principles—their Heresy explained—their Interpretation of the Incarnation.

Let us then see what the Sithians[4] affirm. To these it

[1] This theory has been previously alluded to by Hippolytus in the last chapter of book iv.

[2] *καμαρίου*: some would read *μακαρίου*.

[3] *παντάπασι*: some read *πάντα πᾶσι*. Cruice suggests *πᾶσιν ἐπιτιθειμένην*, *i.e.* one that plots against all.

[4] This is the form in which the name occurs in Hippolytus, but the

appears that there are three definite principles of the universe, and that each of these principles possesses infinite powers. And when they speak of powers,[1] let him that heareth take into account that they make this statement. Everything whatsoever you discern by an act of intelligence, or also omit [to discern] as not being understood, this by nature is fitted to become each of the principles, as in the human soul every art whatsoever which is made the subject of instruction. Just for instance, he says, this child will be a musician, having waited the requisite time for [acquiring a knowledge of] the harp; or a geometrician, [having previously undergone the necessary study for acquiring a knowledge] of geometry; [or] a grammarian, [after having sufficiently studied] grammar; [or] a workman, [having acquired a practical acquaintance] with a handicraftsman's business; and to one brought into contact with the rest of the arts a similar occurrence will take place. Now of principles, he says, the substances are light and darkness; and of these, spirit is intermediate without admixture. The spirit, however, is that which has its appointed place in the midst of darkness which is below, and light which is above. It is not spirit as a current of wind, or some gentle breeze that can be felt; but, as it were, some odour of ointment or of incense formed out of a compound. [It is] a subtle power, that insinuates itself by means of some impulsive quality in a fragrance, which is inconceivable and better than could be expressed by words. Since, however, light is above and darkness below, and spirit is intermediate in such a way as stated between these; and since light is so constituted, that, like a ray of the sun, it shines from above upon the underlying darkness; and again, since the fragrance of the spirit,

correct one is Sethians. As regards this sect, see Irenæus, *contr. Hæres.* i. 30; Tertullian, *Præscript.* c. lxvii.; Theodoret, *Hæret. Fabul.* i. 14; Epiphanius, *Advers. Hæres.* c. xxviii., xxxvii., and xxxix.; Augustine, *De Hæret.* c. xix.; Josephus, *Antiq. Judaic.* i. 2; Suidas on the word "Seth."

[1] For δυνάμεις . . . . . λογιζέσθω, Bernays reads δυνάται . . . . . λογίζεσθαι: "While these make [such] assertions, he is able to calculate," etc.

holding an intermediate place, is extended and carried in every direction, as in the case of incense offerings placed upon fire, we detect the fragrance that is being wafted in every direction: when, I say, there is a power of this description belonging unto the principles which are classified under three divisions, the power of spirit and light simultaneously exists in the darkness that is situated underneath them. But the darkness is a terrible water, into which light is absorbed and translated into a nature of the same description with spirit. The darkness, however, is not devoid of intelligence, but altogether reflective, and is conscious that, where the light has been abstracted from the darkness, the darkness remains isolated, invisible, obscure, impotent, inoperative, [and] feeble. Wherefore it is constrained, by all its reflection and understanding, to collect into itself the lustre and scintillation of light with the fragrance of the spirit. And it is possible to behold an image of the nature of these in the human countenance; for instance, the pupil of the eye, dark from the subjacent humours, [but] illuminated with spirit. As, then, the darkness seeks after the splendour, that it may keep in bondage the spark, and may have perceptive power, so the light and spirit seek after the power that belongs to themselves, and strive to uprear, and towards each other to carry up their intermingled powers into the dark and formidable water lying underneath.

But all the powers of the three originating principles, which are as regards number indefinitely infinite, are each according to its own substance reflective and intelligent, unnumbered in multitude. And since what are reflective and intelligent are numberless in multitude, while they continue by themselves, they are all at rest. If, however, power approaches power, the dissimilarity of [what is set in] juxtaposition produces a certain motion and energy, which are formed from the motion resulting from the concourse effected by the juxtaposition of the coalescing powers. For the concourse of the powers ensues, just like any mark of a seal that is impressed by means of the concourse correspondingly with [the seal] which prints the figure on the

substances that are brought up [into contact with it]. Since, therefore, the powers of the three principles are infinite in number, and from infinite powers [arise] infinite concourses, images of infinite seals are necessarily produced. These images, therefore, are the forms of the different sorts of animals. From the first great concourse, then, of the three principles, ensues a certain great form, a seal[1] of heaven and earth. The heaven and the earth have a figure similar to the womb, having a navel in the midst; and if, he says, any one is desirous of bringing this figure under the organ of vision, let him artfully scrutinize the pregnant womb of whatsoever animal he wishes, and he will discover an image of the heaven and the earth, and of the things which in the midst of all are unalterably situated underneath.

[And so it is, that the first great concourse of the three principles] has produced such a figure of heaven and earth as is similar to a womb after the first coition. But, again, in the midst of the heaven and the earth have been generated infinite concourses of powers. And each concourse did not effect and fashion anything else than a seal of heaven and earth similar to a womb. But, again, in the earth, from the infinite seals are produced infinite crowds of various animals. But into all this infinity of the different animals under heaven is diffused and distributed, along with the light, the fragrance of the Spirit from above. From the water, therefore, has been produced a first-begotten originating principle, viz. wind, [which is] violent and boisterous, and a cause of all generation. For producing a sort of ferment in the waters, [the wind] uplifts waves out of the waters; and the motion[2] of the waves, just as when some impulsive power of pregnancy is the origin of the production of a man or mind,[3] is caused when [the ocean], excited by the impulsive power of spirit, is propelled forward. When, however, this wave that has been raised out of the water by the wind, and rendered pregnant in its nature, has within itself obtained the power, possessed

[1] Or, "form of a seal." [2] Or, "production."

[3] This is Cruice's mode of supplying the hiatus. Miller has "man or ox."

by the female, of generation, it holds together the light scattered from above along with the fragrance of the spirit—that is, mind moulded in the different species. And this [light] is a perfect God, who from the unbegotten radiance above, and from the spirit, is borne down into human nature as into a temple, by the impulsive power of Nature, and by the motion of wind. And it is produced from water being commingled[1] and blended with bodies as if it were a salt[2] of existent things, and a light of darkness. And it struggles to be released from bodies, and is not able to find liberation and an egress for itself. For a very diminutive spark, a severed splinter from above like the ray of a star, has been mingled in the much compounded waters of many [existences],[3] as, says he, [David] remarks in a psalm.[4] Every thought, then, and solicitude actuating the supernal light is as to how and in what manner mind may be liberated, by the death of the depraved and dark body, from the Father that is below, which is the wind that with noise[5] and tumult uplifted the waves, and who generated a perfect mind his own Son; not, however, being his peculiar [offspring] substantially. For he was a ray [sent down] from above, from that perfect light, [and] was overpowered in the dark,[6] and formidable, and bitter, and defiled water; and he is a luminous spirit borne down over the water.[7] When, therefore, the waves that have been upreared from the waters have received within themselves the power of generation possessed by females, they contain, as a

[1] Or, "concealed."

[2] *ἅλας τῶν γενομένων*: Miller reads *ἀλάλων*.

[3] The hiatus, as filled up by Miller, is adopted above. The Abbe Cruice suggests the following emendation: "For there has been intermingled a certain very diminutive spark from the light [subsisting] along with the supernal fragrance, from the spirit producing, like a ray, composition in things dissolved, and dissolution in things compounded."

[4] Ps. xxix. 3.

[5] *βρόμῳ*: some read *βρασμῷ*, *i.e.* agitation, literally a boiling up.

[6] *σκοτεινῷ*: some read *σκολιῷ* (which is of similar import), crooked, *i.e.* involved, obscure.

[7] Or, "the light."

certain womb, in different species, the infused radiance, so as that it is visible in the case of all animals.[1] But the wind, at the same time fierce and formidable,[2] whirling along, is, in respect of its hissing sound, like a serpent.[3]

First, then, from the wind—that is, from the serpent—has resulted the originating principle of generation in the manner declared, all things having simultaneously received the principle of generation. After, then, the light and the spirit had been received, he says, into the polluted and baneful [and] disordered womb, the serpent—the wind of the darkness, the first-begotten of the waters—enters within and produces man, and the impure womb neither loves nor recognises any other form. The perfect Word of supernal light being therefore assimilated [in form] to the beast, [that is,] the serpent, entered into the defiled womb, having deceived [the womb] through the similitude of the beast itself, in order that [the Word] may loose the chains that encircle the perfect mind which has been begotten amidst impurity of womb by the primal offspring of water, [namely,] serpent, wind, [and] beast.[4] This, he says, is the form of the servant,[5] and this the necessity of the Word of God coming down into the womb of a virgin. But he says it is not sufficient that the Perfect Man, the Word, has entered into the womb of a virgin, and loosed the pangs[6] which were in that darkness. Nay, more than this was requisite; for after his entrance[7] into the foul mysteries of the womb, he was washed, and drank of the cup of

[1] A hiatus occurs here. The deficiency is supplied by Cruice from previous statements of Hippolytus, and is adopted above.

[2] Or, "strong."

[3] This passage is obscure. The translation above follows Schneidewin and Cruice. Miller's text would seem capable of this meaning: "The wind, simultaneously fierce and formidable, is whirled along like a trailing serpent supplied with wings." His text is, *τῷ σύρματι ὄφει παραπλήσιος πτέρωτος*, but suggests *πτερωτῷ· ὡς ἀπὸ*.

[4] Schneidewin has a full stop after "wind," and begins the next sentence with *θηρίου* (beast).

[5] Phil. ii. 7.

[6] Acts ii. 24.

[7] Miller would read *μετὰ τὰ . . . ἐξελθὼν*, "after the foul mysteries of the womb he went forth," etc.

life-giving bubbling water.[1] And it was altogether needful that he should drink who was about to strip off the servile form, and assume celestial raiment.

Chapter xv.

The Sethians support their Doctrines by an allegorical Interpretation of Scripture—their System really derived from Natural Philosophers and from the Orphic Rites—adopt the Homeric Cosmogony.

These are the statements which the patrons[2] of the Sethian doctrines make, as far as it is possible to declare in a few words. Their system, however, is made up [of tenets] from natural [philosophers], and of expressions uttered in reference to different other subjects; and transferring [the sense of] these to the Eternal[3] Logos, they explain them as we have declared. But they assert likewise that Moses confirms their doctrine when he says, "Darkness, and mist, and tempest." These, [the Sethian] says, are the three principles [of our system]; or when he states that three were born in paradise—Adam, Eve, the serpent; or when he speaks of three [persons, namely] Cain, Abel, Seth; and again of three [others]—Shem, Ham,[4] Japheth; or when he mentions three patriarchs—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob; or when he speaks of the existence of three days before sun and moon; or when he mentions three laws—prohibitory, permissive, and adjudicatory of punishment. Now, a prohibitory law is as follows: "Of every tree that is in paradise thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou mayest not eat."[5] But in the passage, "Come forth from thy land and from thy

[1] John iv. 7–14. For πιεῖν some read ποιεῖν, "a course which he must pursue who," etc.

[2] προστάται. This is a military expression applied to those placed in the foremost ranks of a battalion of soldiers; but it was also employed in civil affairs, to designate, for instance at Athens, those who protected the μέτοικοι (aliens), and others without the rights of citizenship. Προστάτης was the Roman *Patronus*.

[3] Or, "their own peculiar."

[4] It is written Cham in the text.

[5] Gen. ii. 16, 17.

kindred, and hither into a land which I shall show thee,"[1] this law, he says, is permissive; for one who is so disposed may depart, and one who is not so disposed may remain. But a law adjudicatory of punishment is that which makes the following declaration: "Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal;"[2] for a penalty is awarded to each of these acts of wickedness.

The entire system of their doctrine, however, is [derived] from[3] the ancient theologians Musæus, and Linus, and Orpheus,[4] who elucidates especially the ceremonies of initiation, as well as the mysteries themselves. For their doctrine concerning the womb is also the tenet of Orpheus; and the [idea of the] navel,[5] which is harmony,[6] is [to be found] with the same symbolism attached to it in the Bacchanalian orgies of Orpheus. But prior to the observance of the mystic rite of Celeus, and Triptolemus, and Ceres, and Proserpine, and Bacchus in Eleusis, these orgies have been celebrated and handed down to men in Phlium of Attica.[7] For antecedent to the Eleusinian mysteries, there are [enacted] in Phlium the orgies[8] of her denominated the "Great [Mother]."

[1] Gen. xii. 1. [2] Ex. xx. 13–15; Deut. v. 17–19. [3] *ὑπὸ*, Miller.

[4] These belong to the legendary period of Greek philosophy. Musæus flourished among the Athenians, Linus among the Thebans, and Orpheus among the Thracians. They weaved their physical theories into crude theological systems, which subsequently suggested the cosmogony and theogony of Hesiod [see the translator's *Treatise on Metaphysics*, chap. ii. pp. 33, 34].

[5] *ὀμφαλός*: some read with greater probability *φαλλὸς*, which means the figure, generally wooden, of a *membrum virile*. This harmonizes with what Hippolytus has already mentioned respecting Osiris. A figure of this description was carried in solemn procession in the orgies of Bacchus as a symbol of the generative power of nature. The worship of the Lingam among the Hindoos is of the same description.

[6] *ἁρμονία* (Schneidewin). Cruice reads *ἀνδρεία* (manliness), which agrees with *φαλλὸς* (see preceding note). For *φαλλὸς* Schneidewin reads *ὀμφαλός* (navel).

[7] "Of Achaia" (Meinekius, *Vindic. Strab.* p. 242).

[8] The reading in Miller is obviously incorrect, viz. *λεγομένη μεγαληγορία*, for which he suggests *μεγάλη ἑορτή*. Several other emendations have been proposed, but they scarcely differ from the rendering given

There is, however, a portico in this [city], and on the portico is inscribed a representation, [visible] up to the present day, of all the words which are spoken [on such occasions]. Many, then, of the words inscribed upon that portico are those respecting which Plutarch institutes discussions in his ten books against[1] Empedocles. And in the greater[2] number of these books is also drawn the representation of a certain aged man, grey-haired, winged,[3] having his *pudendum* stretched forth, pursuing a retreating woman of azure colour.[4] And over the aged man is the inscription "phaos ruentes," and over the woman "pereëphicola."[5] But "phaos ruentes"[6] appears to be the light [which exists], according to the doctrine of the Sethians, and "phicola" the darkish water; while the space in the midst of these seems to be a harmony constituted from the spirit that is placed between. The name, however, of "phaos ruentes" manifests, as they allege, the flow from above of the light downwards. Wherefore one may reasonably assert that the Sethians celebrate rites among themselves, very closely bordering upon those orgies of the "Great [Mother" which are observed among] the Phliasians. And the poet likewise seems to bear his testimony to this triple division, when he remarks, "And all things have been triply divided, and everything obtains its [proper] distinction;"[7] that is, each member of the threefold division has obtained [a particular] capacity. But now, as regards the tenet that the subjacent water below, which is dark, ought,

above, which is coincident with what may be learned of these mysteries from other sources.

[1] *πρὸς*, or it might be rendered "respecting." A reference, however, to the catalogue of Empedocles' works, given by Fabricius (t. v. p. 160), shows that for *πρὸς* we should read *εἰς*.

[2] *πλείοσι*: Miller would read *πυλεῶσι*, *i.e.* gateways.

[3] Or *πετρωτὸς*, intended for *πετρώδης*, "made of stone."

[4] *κυανοειδῆ*: some read *κυνοειδῆ*, *i.e.* like a dog.

[5] Some read Persephone (Proserpine) Phlya.

[6] For "phaos ruentes" some read "Phanes rueis," which is the expression found in the Orphic hymn (see Cruice's note).

[7] *Iliad*, xv. 189. (See the passage from Hesiod given at the end of book i. of *The Refutation.*)

because the light has set [over it], to convey upwards and receive the spark borne down from [the light] itself; in the assertion of this tenet, I say, the all-wise Sethians appear to derive [their opinion] from Homer:

> "By Earth I sware, and yon broad Heaven above,
> And Stygian stream beneath, the weightiest oath
> Of solemn power, to bind the blessed gods."[1]

That is, according to Homer, the gods suppose water to be loathsome and horrible. Now, similar to this is the doctrine of the Sethians, which affirms [water] to be formidable to the mind.[2]

Chapter xvi.

The Sethian Theory concerning "Mixture" and "Composition"—Application of it to Christ—Illustration from the Well of Ampa.

These, and other assertions similar to these, are made [by the Sethians] in their interminable commentaries. They, however, persuade their disciples to become conversant with the theory respecting composition and mixture. But this theory has formed a subject of meditation to many, but [among others] also to Andronicus the Peripatetic. The Sethians, then, affirm that the theory concerning composition and mixture is constituted according to the following method: The luminous ray from above is intermingled, and the very diminutive spark is delicately blended in the dark waters beneath; and [both of these] become united, and are formed into one compound mass, just as a single savour [results] from the mixture of many incense-offerings in the fire, and [just as] an adept, by having a test in an acute sense of smell, ought to be able from the single odour of the incense to distinguish accurately each [ingredient] of the incense-offerings that have been mingled in the fire,—whether, for example, storax, and myrrh, and frankincense, or whatever other [ingredient] may be mixed [in the incense]. They, however, employ also other examples, saying both that brass

[1] *Iliad*, xv. 36–38 (Lord Derby's translation); *Odyssey*, v. 185–187.

[2] Miller reasonably proposes for τῷ νοΐ the reading στοιχεῖον, "which affirms water to be a formidable element."

is mixed with gold, and that some art has been discovered which separates the brass from the gold. And, in like manner, if tin or brass, or any substance homogeneous with it, be discovered mixed with silver, these likewise, by some art superior to that of mixing, are distinguished. But already some one also distinguishes water mingled with wine.[1] So, say they, though all things are commingled, they are capable of being separated. Nay, but, he says, derive the same lesson from the case of animals. For when the animal is dead, each of its parts is separated; and when dissolution takes place, the animal in this way vanishes. This is, he says, what has been spoken: "I came not to send peace on the earth, but a sword,"[2]—that is, the division and separation of the things that have been commingled. For each of the things that have been commingled is separated and divided when it reaches its proper place. For as there is one place of mixture for all animals, so also has there been established one [locality] of separation. And, he says, no one is aware of this [place], save we alone that have been born again, spiritual, not carnal, whose citizenship is in heaven above.

In this manner insinuating themselves, they corrupt their pupils, partly by misusing the words spoken [by themselves], while they wickedly pervert, to serve any purpose they wish, what has been admirably said [in Scripture]; and partly by concealing their nefarious conduct, by means of whatever comparisons they please. All these things, then, he says, that have been commingled, possess, as has been declared, their own particular place, and hurry towards their own peculiar [substances], as iron towards the magnet, and the chaff to the vicinity of amber, and the gold to the spur[3]

[1] ὕδωρ μεμιγμένον οἴνῳ διακρίνει: Miller's text is ὕδωρ μεμιγμένον αἰνωδία κρήνη, which is obviously corrupt. His emendation of the passage may be translated thus: "And now some one observes water from a wayside fountain, mixed, so they say; and even though all things be intermingled, a separation is effected."

[2] Matt. x. 34.

[3] κέντρῳ. In other passages the word κερκίς is used, *i.e.* the backbone.

of the sea falcon. In like manner, the [ray[1]] of light which has been commingled with the water, having obtained from discipline and instruction its own proper locality, hastens towards the Logos that comes from above in servile form; and along with the Logos exists as a logos in that place where the Logos is still: [the light, I say, hastens to the Logos with greater speed] than the iron towards the magnet.

And that these things, he says, are so, and that all things that have been commingled are separated in their proper places, learn. There is among the Persians in a city Ampa,[2] near the river Tigris, a well; and near the well, at the top, has been constructed a certain reservoir, supplied with three outlets; and when one pumps from this well, and draws off some of its contents in a vessel, what is thus pumped out of the well, whatever it is at all, he pours into the reservoir hard by. And when what is thus infused reaches the outlets, and when what is taken up [out of each outlet] in a single vessel is examined, a separation is observed to have taken place. And in the first of the outlets is exhibited a concretion of salt, and in the second of asphalt, and in the third of oil; and the oil is black, just as, he says, Herodotus[3] also narrates, and it yields a heavy smell, and the Persians call this "rhadinace." The similitude of the well is, say the Sethians, more sufficient for the demonstration of their proposition than all the statements that have been previously made.

Chapter xvii.

The Sethian Doctrines to be learned from the "Paraphrase of Seth."

The opinion of the Sethians appears to us to have been sufficiently elucidated. If, however, any one is desirous of learning the entire doctrine according to them, let him read a book inscribed *Paraphrase of Seth;* for all their secret tenets he will find deposited there. But since we have explained the opinions entertained by the Sethians, let us see also what are the doctrines advanced by Justinus.

[1] Or, "power." [2] Or, "Ama." [3] Herodotus, vi. 119.

Chapter xviii.

The System of Justinus antiscriptural and essentially pagan.

Justinus[1] was entirely opposed to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, and moreover to the written or oral teaching of the blessed evangelists, according as the Logos was accustomed to instruct His disciples, saying, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles;"[2] and this signifies that they should not attend to the futile doctrine of the Gentiles. This [heretic] endeavours to lead on his hearers into an acknowledgment of prodigies detailed by the Gentiles, and of doctrines inculcated by them. And he narrates, word for word, legendary accounts prevalent among the Greeks, and does not previously teach or deliver his perfect mystery, unless he has bound his dupe by an oath. Then he brings forward [these] fables for the purpose of persuasion, in order that they who are conversant with the incalculable trifling of these books may have some consolation in the details of these legends. Thus it happens as when in like manner one making a long journey deems it expedient, on having fallen in with an inn, to take repose. And so it is that, when once more they are induced to turn towards studying the diffuse doctrine of these lectures,

[1] What Hippolytus here states respecting Justinus is quite new. No mention occurs of this heretic in ecclesiastical history. It is evident, however, that, like Simon Magus, he was contemporary with St. Peter and St. Paul. Justinus, however, and the Ophitic sect to which he belonged, are assigned by Hippolytus and Irenæus a prior position as regards the order of their appearance to the system of Simon, or its offshoot Valentinianism. The Ophites engrafted Phrygian Judaism, and the Valentinians Gentilism, upon Christianity; the former not rejecting the speculations and mysteries of Asiatic paganism, and the latter availing themselves of the cabbalistic corruptions of Judaism. The Judaistic element soon became prominent in successive phases of Valentinianism, which produced a fusion of the sects of the old Gnostics and of Simon. Hippolytus, however, now places the Ophitic sect before us prior to its amalgamation with Valentinianism. Here, for the first time, we have an authentic delineation of the primitive Ophites. This is of great value.

[2] Matt. x. 5.

they may not abhor them while they, undergoing instruction unnecessarily prolix, rush stupified into the transgression devised by [Justinus]; and previously he binds his followers with horrible oaths, neither to publish nor abjure these doctrines, and forces upon them an acknowledgment [of their truth]. And in this manner he delivers the mysteries impiously discovered by himself, partly, according to the statements previously made, availing himself of the Hellenic legends, and partly of those pretended books which, to some extent, bear a resemblance to the aforesaid heresies. For all, forced together by one spirit, are drawn into one profound abyss of pollution, inculcating the same tenets, and detailing the same legends, each after a different method. All those, however, style themselves Gnostics in this peculiar sense, that they alone themselves have imbibed the marvellous knowledge of the Perfect and Good [Being].

Chapter xix.

The Justinian Heresy unfolded in the "Book of Baruch."

But swear, says Justinus, if you wish to know "what eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and the things which have not entered into the heart;"[1] that is, if you wish to know Him who is good above all, Him who is more exalted, [swear] that you will preserve the secrets [of the Justinian] discipline, as intended to be kept silent. For also our Father, on beholding the Good One, and on being initiated with Him, preserved the mysteries respecting which silence is enjoined, and sware, as it has been written, "The Lord sware, and will not repent."[2] Having, then, in this way set the seal to these tenets, he seeks to inveigle [his followers] with more legends, [which are detailed] through a greater number of books; and so he conducts [his readers] to the Good One, consummating the initiated [by admitting them into] the unspeakable Mysteries.[3] In order, however, that we may not wade through more of their volumes, we shall

[1] Isa. lxiv. 4; 1 Cor. ii. 9.

[2] Ps. cx. 4; Heb. vii. 21.

[3] Or, "the rest of the Mysteries."

illustrate the ineffable Mysteries [of Justinus] from one book of his, inasmuch as, according to his supposition, it is [a work] of high repute. Now this volume is inscribed *Baruch;* and one fabulous account out of many which is explained by [Justinus] in this [volume], we shall point out, inasmuch as it is to be found in Herodotus. But after imparting a different shape to this [account], he explains it to his pupils as if it were something novel, being under the impression that the entire arrangement of his doctrine [springs] out of it.

Chapter xx.

The Cosmogony of Justinus an allegorical Explanation of Herodotus' Legend of Hercules.

Herodotus,[1] then, asserts that Hercules, when driving the oxen of Geryon from Erytheia,[2] came into Scythia, and that, being wearied with travelling, he retired into some desert spot and slept for a short time. But while he slumbered his horse disappeared, seated on which he had performed his lengthened journey. On being aroused from repose, he, however, instituted a diligent search through the desert, endeavouring to discover his horse. And though he is unsuccessful in his search after the horse, he yet finds in the desert a certain damsel, half of whose form was that of woman, and proceeded to question her if she had seen the horse anywhere. The girl, however, replies that she had seen [the animal], but that she would not show him unless Hercules previously would come along with her for the purpose of sexual intercourse. Now Herodotus informs us that her upper parts as far as the groin were those of a virgin, but that everything below the body after the groin presented some horrible appearance of a snake. In anxiety, however, for the discovery of his horse, Hercules complies with the

[1] Herodotus, iv. 8–10.

[2] Erytheia (Eretheia) was the island which Geryon inhabited. Miller's text has Ἐρυθᾶς (*i.e.* sc. Θαλάσσης), "the Red Sea." This, however, is a mistake.

monster's request; for he knew her [carnally], and made her pregnant. And he foretold, after coition, that she had by him in her womb three children at the same time, who were destined to become illustrious. And he ordered that she, on bringing forth, should impose on the children as soon as born the following names: Agathyrsus, Gelonus, and Scytha. And as the reward of this [favour] receiving his horse from the beast-like damsel, he went on his way, taking with him the cattle also. But after these [details], Herodotus has a protracted account; adieu, however, to it for the present.[1] But what the opinions are of Justinus, who transfers this legend into [his account of] the generation of the universe, we shall explain.

Chapter xxi.

Justinus' Triad of Principles—his Angelography founded on this Triad—his Explanation of the Birth, Life, and Death of our Lord.

This [heresiarch] makes the following statement. There are three unbegotten principles of the universe, two male [and] one female. Of the male [principles], however, a certain one is denominated good, and it alone is called after this manner, and possesses a power of prescience concerning the universe. But the other is father[2] of all begotten things, devoid of prescience,[3] and invisible. And the female [principle] is devoid of prescience, passionate, two-minded,[4] two-bodied, in every respect answering [the description of] the girl in the legend of Herodotus, as far as the groin a virgin, and [in] the parts below [resembling] a snake, as Justinus says. But this girl is styled Edem and Israel. And these principles of the universe are, he says, roots and

[1] Some read τὸν νοῦν, which has been properly altered into τὸ νῦν, as translated above.

[2] Or, "mother."

[3] καὶ ἄγνωστος, "and unknown," is added in Cruice's and Schneidewin's text, as this word occurs in Hippolytus' epitome of Justinus' heresy in book x. of *The Refutation.*

[4] δίγνωμος: some read ἀγνώμων, *i.e.* devoid of judgment.

fountains from which existing things have been produced, but that there was not anything else. The Father, then, who is devoid of prescience, beholding that half woman Edem, passed into a concupiscent desire for her. But this Father, he says, is called Elohim. Not less did Edem also long for Elohim, and the mutual passion brought them together into the one nuptial couch of love.[1] And from such an intercourse the Father generates out of Edem unto himself twelve angels. And the names of the angels begotten by the Father are these: Michaël, Amen,[2] Baruch, Gabriel, Esaddæus. . . . And of the maternal angels which Edem brought forth, the names in like manner have been subjoined, and they are as follow: Babel,[3] Achamoth, Naas, Bel, Belias, Satan, Saël, Adonæus, Leviathan,[4] Pharao, Carcamenos, [and] Lathen.

Of these twenty-four angels the paternal ones are associated with the Father, and do all things according to His will; and the maternal [angels are associated with] Edem the Mother. And the multitude of all these angels together is Paradise, he says, concerning which Moses speaks: "God planted a garden in Eden towards the east,"[5] that is, towards the face of Edem, that Edem might behold the garden—that is, the angels—continually. Allegorically the angels are styled trees of this garden, and the tree of life is the third of the paternal angels—Baruch. And the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is the third of the maternal angels—Naas. For so,[6] says [Justinus], one ought to interpret the words of Moses, observing, "Moses said these things disguisedly, from the fact that all do not attain the truth." And, he says, Paradise being formed from the conjugal joy of Elohim and Edem, the angels of Elohim receiving from the most beauteous earth, that is, not from the portion of Edem resembling a monster, but from the parts above the groin of human shape, and gentle (in aspect), make man out of the earth. But out

[1] εὐνήν: some read ἔννοιαν, *i.e.* goodwill, but this seems pleonastic where φιλίας precedes.

[2] See Rev. iii. 14. [3] Or, "Babelachamos," or "Babel, Achamos."

[4] Or, "Kaviathan." [5] Gen. ii. 8. [6] Or, "this one."

of the parts resembling a monster are produced wild beasts, and the rest of the animal creation. They made man, therefore, as a symbol of the unity and love [subsisting] between them; and they depute their own powers unto him, Edem the soul, but Elohim the spirit. And the man Adam is produced as some actual seal and memento of love, and as an everlasting emblem of the marriage of Edem and Elohim. And in like manner also Eve was produced, he says, as Moses has described, an image and emblem [as well as] a seal, to be preserved for ever, of Edem. And in like manner also a soul was deposited in Eve, (an image) from Edem, but a spirit from Elohim. And there were given to them commandments, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth,"[1] that is, Edem; for so he wishes that it had been written. For the entire of the power belonging unto herself, Edem conferred upon Elohim as a sort of nuptial dowry. Whence, he says, from imitation of that primary marriage up to this day, women bring a dowry to their husbands, complying with a certain divine and paternal law that came into existence on the part of Edem towards Elohim.

And when all things were created as has been described by Moses—both heaven and earth, and the things therein[2]—the twelve angels of the Mother were divided into four principles, and each fourth part of them is called a river—Phison, and Gehon, and Tigris, and Euphrates, as, he says, Moses states. These twelve angels being mutually connected, go about into four parts, and manage the world, holding from Edem a sort of viceregal[3] authority over the world. But they do not always continue in the same places, but move around as if in a circular dance, changing place after place, and at set times and intervals retiring to the localities subject to themselves. And when Phison holds sway over places, famine, distress, and affliction prevail in that part of the earth, for the battalion of these angels is niggardly. In like manner also there belong to each part of the four, according to the power

[1] Gen. i. 28.

[2] ἐν αὐτῇ: some read ἐν ἀρχῇ, *i.e.* in the beginning.

[3] σατραπικήν. The common reading ἀστραπικήν is obviously corrupt.

and nature of each, evil times and hosts of diseases. And continually, according to the dominion[1] of each fourth part, this stream of evil, just [like a current] of rivers, careers, according to the will of Edem, uninterruptedly around the world. And from some cause of this description has arisen the necessity of evil.

When Elohim had prepared and created the world as a result from joint pleasure, He wished to ascend up to the elevated parts of heaven, and to see that not anything of what pertained to the creation laboured under deficiency. And He took His Own angels with Him, for His nature was to mount aloft, leaving Edem below:[2] for inasmuch as she was earth, she was not disposed to follow upward her spouse. Elohim, then, coming to the highest part of heaven above, and beholding a light superior to that which He Himself had created, exclaimed, "Open me the gates, that entering in I may acknowledge the Lord; for I considered Myself to be Lord."[3] A voice was returned to Him from the light, saying, "This is the gate of the Lord: through this the righteous enter in."[4] And immediately the gate was opened, and the Father, without the angels, entered, [advancing] towards the Good One, and beheld "what eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and what hath not entered into the heart of man to [conceive]."[5] Then the Good One says to him, "Sit thou on my right hand."[6] And the Father says to the Good One, "Permit me, Lord, to overturn the world which I have made, for my spirit is bound to men.[7] And I wish to receive it back [from them]." Then the Good One replies to him, "No evil canst thou do while thou art with me, for both thou and Edem made the world as a result of conjugal joy. Permit Edem, then, to hold possession of the world as long as she wishes; but do you remain with me." Then Edem,

[1] Or, "mixture."

[2] *κάτω*: some read *κατώγη*, *i.e.* *κατώγαιος*, earthly; some *κατωφερής*, with a downward tendency.

[3] Ps. cxvii. 19.

[4] Ps. cxviii. 20.

[5] Isa. lxiv. 4; 1 Cor. ii. 9.

[6] Ps. cx. 1.

[7] Or, "the heavens."

knowing that she had been deserted by Elohim, was seized with grief, and placed beside herself her own angels. And she adorned herself after a comely fashion, if by any means Elohim, passing into concupiscent desire, might descend [from heaven] to her.

When, however, Elohim, overpowered by the Good One, no longer descended to Edem, Edem commanded Babel, which is Venus, to cause adulteries and dissolutions of marriages among men. [And she adopted this expedient] in order that, as she had been divorced from Elohim, so also the spirit of Elohim, which is in men, being wrung with sorrow, might be punished by such separations, and might undergo precisely the sufferings which [were being endured by] the deserted Edem. And Edem gives great power to her third angel, Naas, that by every species of punishment she might chasten the spirit of Elohim which is in men, in order that Elohim, through the spirit, might be punished for having deserted his spouse, in violation of the agreements entered into between them. Elohim the father seeing these things, sends forth Baruch, the third angel among his own, to succour the spirit that is in all men.[1] Baruch then coming, stood in the midst of the angels of Edem, that is, in the midst of paradise (for paradise is the angels, in the midst of whom he stood), and issued to the man the following injunction: "Of every tree that is in paradise thou mayest freely eat, but thou mayest not eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil,"[2] which is Naas. Now the meaning is, that he should obey the rest of the eleven angels of Edem, for the eleven possess passions, but are not guilty of transgression. Naas, however, has committed sin, for he went in unto Eve, deceiving her, and debauched her; and [such an act as] this is a violation of law. He, however, likewise went in unto Adam, and had unnatural intercourse with him; and this is itself also a piece of turpitude, whence have arisen adultery and sodomy.

Henceforward vice and virtue were prevalent among men,

[1] ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν. Ἐλθὼν. Some read: ἀνθρώποις. Πάλιν ἐλθὼν.
[2] Gen. ii. 16, 17.

arising from a single source—that of the Father. For the Father having ascended to the Good One, points out from time to time the way to those desirous of ascending [to him likewise]. After having, however, departed from Edem, he caused an originating principle of evil for the spirit of the Father that is in men.[1] Baruch therefore was despatched to Moses, and through him spoke to the children of Israel, that they might be converted unto the Good One. But the third angel [Naas], by the soul which came from Edem upon Moses, as also upon all men, obscured the precepts of Baruch, and caused his own peculiar injunctions to be hearkened unto. For this reason the soul is arrayed against the spirit, and the spirit against the soul.[2] For the soul is Edem, but the spirit Elohim, and each of these exists in all men, both females and males. Again, after these [occurrences], Baruch was sent to the Prophets, that through the Prophets the spirit that dwelleth in men[3] might hear [words of warning], and might avoid Edem and the wicked fiction, just as the Father had fled from Elohim. In like manner also (by the prophets[4]), Naas, by a similar device, through the soul[5] that dwells in man, along with the spirit of the Father, enticed away the prophets, and all [of them] were allured after him, and did not follow the words of Baruch, which Elohim enjoined.

Ultimately Elohim selected Hercules, an uncircumcised prophet, and sent him to quell the twelve angels of Edem, and release the Father from the twelve angels, those wicked ones of the creation. These are the twelve conflicts of Hercules which Hercules underwent, in order, from first to last, viz. Lion, and Hydra, and Boar, and the others successively. For they say that these are the names [of them] among the Gentiles, and they have been derived with altered denominations from the energy of the maternal angels. When he seemed to have vanquished his antagonists, Omphale

[1] Or, "in heaven." [2] Gal. v. 17. [3] Or, "in heaven." These words are superfluous here, and are repeated from the preceding sentence by mistake.

[5] ψυχῆς: some read εὐχῆς, *i.e.* prayer.

(now she is Babel or Venus) clings to him and entices away Hercules, and divests him of his power, viz. the commands of Baruch which Elohim issued. And in place [of this power, Babel] envelopes him in her own peculiar robe, that is, in the power of Edem, who is the power below; and in this way the prophecy of Hercules remained unfulfilled, and his works.

Finally, however, in the days of Herod the king, Baruch is despatched, being sent down once more by Elohim; and coming to Nazareth, he found Jesus, son of Joseph and Mary, a child of twelve years, feeding sheep. And he announces to him all things from the beginning, whatsoever had been done by Edem and Elohim, and whatsoever would be likely to take place hereafter, and spoke the following words: "All the prophets anterior to you have been enticed. Put forth an effort, therefore, Jesus, Son of man, not to be allured, but preach this word unto men, and carry back tidings to them of things pertaining to the Father, and things pertaining to the Good One, and ascend to the Good One, and sit there with Elohim, Father of us all." And Jesus was obedient unto the angel, saying that, "I shall do all things, Lord," and proceeded to preach. Naas therefore wished to entice away this one also. [Jesus, however, was not disposed to listen to his overtures[1]], for he remained faithful to Baruch. Therefore Naas, being inflamed with anger because he was not able to seduce him, caused him to be crucified. He, however, leaving the body of Edem on the [accursed] tree, ascended to the Good One; saying, however, to Edem, "Woman, thou retainest thy son,"[2] that is, the natural and the earthly man. But [Jesus] himself commending his spirit into the hands of the Father, ascended to the Good One. Now the Good One is Priapus, [and] he it is who antecedently caused the production ef everything that exists. On this account he is styled Priapus, because he previously fashioned all things [according to his own design]. For this

[1] Miller conjectures that the words within brackets should be added to the text.

[2] John xix. 26.

reason, he says, in every temple is placed his statue, which is revered by every creature; and [there are images of him] in the highways, carrying over his head ripened fruits, that is, the produce of the creation, of which he is the cause, having in the first instance formed, [according to His own design,] the creation, when as yet it had no existence. When, therefore, he says, you hear men asserting that the swan went in unto Leda, and begat a child from her, [learn that] the swan is Elohim, and Leda, Edem. And when people allege that an eagle went in unto Ganymede, [know that] the eagle is Naas, and Ganymede Adam. And when they assert that gold [in a shower] went in unto Danaë and begat a child from her, [recollect that] the gold is Elohim, and Danaë is Edem. And similarly, in the same manner adducing all accounts of this description, which correspond with [the nature of] legends, they pursue the work of instruction. When, therefore, the prophet says, "Hearken, O heaven, and give ear, O earth; the Lord hath spoken," he means by heaven, [Justinus] says, the spirit which is in man from Elohim; and by earth, the soul which is in man along with the spirit; and by Lord, Baruch; and by Israel, Edem, for Israel as well as Edem is called the spouse of Elohim. "Israel," he says, "did not know me [Elohim]; for had he known me, that I am with the Good One, he would not have punished through paternal ignorance the spirit which is in men."

Chapter xxii.

Oath used by the Justinian Heretics—the Book of Baruch—the Repertory of their System.

Hence[1] also, in the first book inscribed "Baruch," has been written the oath which they compel those to swear who are about to hear these mysteries, and be initiated with

[1] ἐντεῦθεν: this word stands at the end of the last chapter in the text of Miller, who suspects that there is here some hiatus. In this opinion the Abbe Cruice concurs. Schneidewin, however, transfers ἐντεῦθεν to the beginning of this chapter as above.

the Good One.[1] And this oath, [Justinus] says, our Father Elohim sware when He was beside the Good One, and having sworn He did not repent [of the oath], respecting which, he says, it has been written, "The Lord sware, and will not repent."[2] Now the oath is couched in these[3] terms: "I swear by that Good One who is above all, to guard these mysteries, and to divulge them to no one, and not to relapse from the Good One to the creature." And when he has sworn this oath, he goes on to the Good One, and beholds "whatever things eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, and which have not entered into the heart of man;"[4] and he drinks from life-giving water, which is to them, as they suppose, a bath,[5] a fountain of life-giving, bubbling water.[6] For there has been a separation made between water and water; and there is water, that below the firmament of the wicked creation, in which earthly and animal men are washed; and there is life-giving water, [that] above the firmament,[7] of the Good One, in which spiritual [and] living men are washed; and in this Elohim washed Himself, and having washed did not repent. And when, he says, the prophet affirms, "Take unto yourself a wife of whoredom, since the earth has abandoned itself to fornication, [departing] from [following] after the Lord;"[8] that is, Edem [departs] from Elohim. [Now] in these words, he says, the prophet clearly declares the entire mystery, and is not hearkened unto by reason of the wicked machinations of Naas. According to that same manner, they deliver other prophetical passages in a similar spirit of interpretation throughout numerous books. The volume, however, inscribed "Baruch," is pre-eminently to them the one in which the reader[9] will ascertain the entire explanation of their legendary system [to be contained]. Beloved, though

[1] *παρὰ τῷ ἀγαθῷ*; or rather, we should expect, into a knowledge of the Good One.

[2] Ps. cx. 4; Heb. vii. 21. [3] *οὕτως*: some read *οὗτος*. [4] 1 Cor. ii. 9.

[5] *λουτρὸν*: the ecclesiastical use of this word makes it stand for baptism.

[6] John iv. 14. [7] Gen. i. 6, 7. [8] Hos. i. 2.

[9] *ἐντυχὼν*: some read *εὐτυχῶν*, *i.e.* one who is fortunate enough to meet with the book.

I have encountered many heresies, yet with no wicked [heresiarch] worse than this [Justinus] has it been my lot to meet. But, in truth, [the followers of Justinus] ought to imitate[1] the example of his Hercules, and to cleanse, as the saying is, the cattle-shed of Augias, or rather I should say, a ditch,[2] into which, as soon as the adherents of this [heresiarch] have fallen, they can never be cleansed; nay, they will not be able even to raise their heads.

Chapter xxiii.

Subsequent Heresies deducible from the System of Justinus.

Since, then, we have explained the attempts [at a system] of the pseudo-gnostic Justinus, it appears likewise expedient in the following books to elucidate the opinions put forward in heresies following [in the way of consequence upon the doctrines of Justinus], and to leave not a single one of these [speculators] unrefuted. Our refutation will be accomplished by adducing the assertions made by them; such [at least of their statements] as are sufficient for making a public example [of these heretics]. [And we shall attain our purpose], even though there should only be condemned[3] the secret and ineffable [mysteries] practised amongst them, into which, silly mortals that they are, scarcely [even] with considerable labour are they initiated. Let us then see what also Simon affirms.

[1] Literally "ought, according to his Hercules, by imitating," etc.

[2] *ἀμάραν.* This word means a trench or channel in a field, for the purpose either of irrigation or drainage. Schneidewin and Cruice render it by the Latin *Sentinam*, an expression applied, for example, to bilge water.

[3] *ἐκρηθείη, i.e. ἐκριθείη*: some read *ἐκκριθείη*, which might be rendered, "even though, [for the purpose of holding these heretics up to public shame,] there should be made a selection only," etc.

BOOK VI.

OF THE

REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES.

CONTENTS.

THE following are the contents of the sixth book of the *Refutation of all Heresies* :—

What the opinions are that are attempted [to be established] by Simon, and that his doctrine derives its force from the [lucubrations] of magicians and poets.

What are the opinions propounded by Valentinus, and that his system is not constructed out of the Scriptures, but out of the Platonic and Pythagorean tenets.

And what are the opinions of Secundus, and Ptolemæus, and Heracleon, as persons also who themselves advanced the same doctrines as the philosophers among the Greeks, but enunciated them in different phraseology.

And what are the suppositions put forward by Marcus and Colarbasus, and that some of them devoted their attention to magical arts and the Pythagorean numbers.

Chapter I.

The Ophites the Progenitors of subsequent Heresies.

Whatever opinions, then, were entertained by those who derived the first principles [of their doctrine] from the serpent, and in process of time[1] deliberately[2] brought forward

[1] κατὰ τελείωσιν τῶν χρόνων. This is Bunsen's emendation. The textual reading is μείωσιν.

[2] ἐκουσίως: Bunsen suggests ἀνοσίως, *i.e.* profanely.

into public notice their tenets, we have explained in the book preceding this, [and] which is the fifth of the *Refutation of Heresies*. But now also I shall not be silent as regards the opinions of [heresiarchs] who follow these [Ophites in succession]; nay, not one [speculation] will I leave unrefuted, if it is possible to remember all [their tenets], and the secret orgies of these [heretics] which one may fairly style orgies,—for they who propagate such audacious opinions are not far distant from the anger [of God],—that I may avail myself of the assistance of etymology.

Chapter II.

Simon Magus.

It seems, then, expedient likewise to explain now the opinions of Simon,[1] a native of Gitta, a village of Samaria; and we shall also prove that his successors, taking a starting-point from him, have endeavoured [to establish] similar opinions under a change of name. This Simon being an adept in sorceries, both making a mockery of many, partly according to the art of Thrasymedes, in the manner in which we have explained above,[2] and partly also by the assistance of demons perpetrating his villany, attempted to deify himself. [But] the man was a [mere] cheat, and full of folly, and the Apostles reproved him in the Acts.[3] With much greater wisdom and moderation than Simon, did Apsethus the Libyan, inflamed with a similar wish, endeavour to have himself considered a god in Libya. And inasmuch as his legendary system does not present any wide divergence from the inordi-

[1] See Irenæus, *Hæres.* i. 19, 20; Tertullian, *Præscript.* c. xlvi.; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* xxi.; Theodoret, *Hæret. Fab.* i. 1; St. Augustine, *De Hæres.* 1. See the apology of Justin Martyr (vol. ii. of the Ante-Nicene Library, p. 29), who says, "There was a Samaritan, Simon, a native of the village called Gitto, who, in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, and in your royal city of Rome, did mighty acts of magic, by virtue of the art of the devils operating in him." Simon's history and opinions are treated of largely in the *Recognitions of Clement* (see vol. iii. of the Ante-Nicene Library, pp. 156–271).

[2] In book iv. of *The Refutation.*

[3] Acts viii. 9-24.

nate desire of that silly Simon, it seems expedient to furnish an explanation of it, as one worthy of the attempt made by this man.

Chapter iii.

Story of Apsethus the Libyan.

Apsethus[1] the Libyan inordinately longed to become a god; but when, after repeated intrigues, he altogether failed to accomplish his desire, he nevertheless wished to appear to have become [a god]; and he did at all events appear, as time wore on, to have in reality become a god. For the foolish Libyans were accustomed to sacrifice unto him as to some divine power, supposing that they were yielding credence to a voice that came down from above, from heaven. For, collecting into one and the same cage a great number of birds,—parrots,—he shut them up. Now there are very many parrots throughout Libya, and very distinctly these imitate the human voice. This man, having for a time nourished the birds, was in the habit of teaching them to say, "Apsethus is a god." After, however, the birds had practised this for a long period, and were accustomed to the utterance of that which he thought, when said, would make it supposed that Apsethus was a god, then, opening the habitation [of the birds], he let forth the parrots, each in a different direction. While the birds, however, were on the wing, their sound went out into all Libya, and the expressions of these reached as far as the Hellenic country. And thus the Libyans, being astonished at the voice of the birds, and not perceiving the knavery perpetrated by Apsethus, held Apsethus to be a god. Some one, however, of the Greeks, by accurate examination, perceiving the trick of the supposed

[1] Miller refers us to Apostolius' *Proverb. s.v.* ψαφῶν. Schneidewin remarks that Maximus Tyrius relates almost a similar story concerning one Psapho, a Libyan, in his *Dissert.* (xxxv.), and that Apostolius extracted this account and inserted it in his *Cent.* xviii. p. 730, ed. Leutsch, mentioning at the same time a similar narrative from Ælian's *Hist.* xiv. 30. See *Justin.* xxi. 4, and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 16.

god, by means of those same parrots not only refutes, but also utterly destroys, that boastful and tiresome fellow. Now the Greek, by confining many of the parrots, taught them anew to say, "Apsethus having caged us, compelled us to say, Apsethus is a god." But having heard of the recantation of the parrots, the Libyans, coming together, all unanimously decided on burning Apsethus.

Chapter iv.

Simon's forced Interpretation of Scripture—plagiarizes from Heraclitus and Aristotle—Simon's System of sensible and intelligible Existences.

In this way we must think concerning Simon the magician, so that we may compare him unto the Libyan, far sooner than unto Him who, though made man,[1] was in reality God. If, however, the assertion of this likeness is in itself accurate, and the sorcerer was the subject of a passion similar to Apsethus, let us endeavour to teach anew the parrots of Simon, that Christ, who stood, stands, and will stand, [that is, was, is, and is to come,] was not Simon. But [Jesus] was man, offspring of the seed of a woman, born of blood and the will of the flesh, as also the rest [of humanity]. And that these things are so, we shall easily prove as the discussion proceeds.

Now Simon, both foolishly and knavishly paraphrasing the law of Moses, makes his statements [in the manner following]: For when Moses asserts that "God is a burning and consuming fire,"[2] taking what is said by Moses not in its correct sense, he affirms that fire is the originating principle of the universe. [But Simon] does not consider what the statement is which is made, namely, that it is not that God is a fire, but a burning and consuming fire, [thereby] not only putting a violent sense upon the actual law of Moses, but even plagiarizing from Heraclitus the Obscure. And Simon denominates the originating principle of the universe an in-

[1] The text here is corrupt. The above is Miller's emendation. Cruice's reading may thus be rendered: "So that far sooner we may compare him unto the Libyan, who was a mere man, and not the true God."

[2] Deut. iv. 24.

definite power, expressing himself thus: "This is the treatise of a revelation of [the] voice and name [recognisable] by means of intellectual apprehension of the Great Indefinite Power. Wherefore it will be sealed, [and] kept secret, [and] hid, [and] will repose in the habitation, at the foundation of which lies the root of all things." And he asserts that this man who is born of blood is [the aforesaid] habitation, and that in him resides an indefinite power, which he affirms to be the root of the universe.

Now the indefinite power which is fire, constitutes, according to Simon, not any uncompounded [essence, in conformity with the opinion of those who] assert that the four elements are simple, and who have [therefore] likewise imagined that fire, [which is one of the four,] is simple. But [this is far from being the case]: for there is, [he maintains,] a certain twofold nature of fire;[1] and of this twofold [nature] he denominates one part a something secret, and another a something manifest, and that the secret are hidden in the manifest portions of the fire, and that the manifest portions of the fire derive their being from its secret [portions]. This, however, is what Aristotle denominates by [the expressions] "potentiality" and "energy," or [what] Plato [styles] "intelligible" and "sensible." And the manifest portion of the fire comprises all things in itself, whatsoever any one might discern, or even whatever objects of the visible creation[2] he may happen to overlook. But the entire secret [portion of the fire] which one may discern is cognised by intellect, and evades the power of the senses; or one fails to observe it, from want of a capacity for that particular sort of perception. In general, however, inasmuch as all existing things fall under the categories, namely, of what are objects of Sense, and what are objects of Intellect, and as for the denomination of these [Simon] employs the terms secret and manifest; it may, [I say, in general,] be affirmed that the fire, [I mean] the super-celestial [fire], is a treasure, as it

[1] The Abbe Cruice considers that Theodoret has made use of this passage. (See *Hæret. fab.* i. 1.)

[2] Or, τὸν ἀόρατον, the invisible one.

were a large tree, just such a one as in a dream was seen by Nabuchodonosor,[1] out of which all flesh is nourished. And the manifest portion of the fire he regards as the stem, the branches, the leaves, [and] the external rind which overlaps them. All these [appendages], he says, of the Great Tree being kindled, are made to disappear by reason of the blaze of the all-devouring fire. The fruit, however, of the tree, when it is fully grown, and has received its own form, is deposited in a granary, not [flung] into the fire. For, he says, the fruit has been produced for the purpose of being laid in the storehouse, whereas the chaff that it may be delivered over to the fire.[2] [Now the chaff] is stem, [and is] generated not for its own sake, but for that of the fruit.

Chapter v.

Simon appeals to Scripture in support of his System.

And this, he says, is what has been written in Scripture: "For the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth is the house of Israel, and the man of Judah is His beloved plant." If, however, the man of Judah [is] the beloved plant, it has been proved, he says, that there is not any other tree but that man. But concerning the secretion and dissolution of this [tree], Scripture, he says, has spoken sufficiently. And as regards instruction for those who have been fashioned after the image [of him], that statement is enough which is made [in Scripture], that "all flesh is grass, and all the glory of flesh, as it were, a flower of grass. The grass withereth, and its flower falleth; but the word of the Lord abideth for ever."[3] The word of the Lord, he says, is that word which is produced in the mouth, and [is] a Logos, but nowhere else exists there a place of generation.

Chapter vi.

Simon's System expounded in the Work, *Great Announcement*—follows Empedocles.

Now, to express myself briefly, inasmuch as the fire is of

[1] Dan. iv. 10–12. [2] Matt. iii. 12; Luke iii. 17. [3] 1 Pet. i. 24.

this description, according to Simon, and since all things are visible and invisible, [and] in like manner resonant and not resonant, numerable and not subjects of numeration; he denominates in the *Great Announcement* a perfect intelligible [entity], after such a mode, that each of those things which, existing indefinitely, may be infinitely comprehended, both speaks, and understands, and acts in such a manner as Empedocles[1] speaks of:

> "For earth, indeed, by earth we see, and water by water,
> And air divine by air, and fire fierce by fire,
> And love by love, and also strife by gloomy strife."

Chapter vii.

Simon's System of a Threefold Emanation by Pairs.

For, he says, he is in the habit of considering that all these portions of the fire, both visible and invisible, are possessed of perception and a share of intelligence.[2] The world, therefore, that which is generated, was produced from the unbegotten fire. It began, however, to exist, he says, according to the following manner. He who was begotten from the principle of that fire took six roots, and those primary ones, of the originating principle of generation. And, he says, that the roots were made from the fire in pairs, which roots he terms "Mind" and "Intelligence," "Voice" and "Name," "Ratiocination" and "Reflection." And that in these six roots resides simultaneously the entire indefinite power potentially, [however] not actually. And this indefinite power, he says, is he who stood, stands, and will stand. Wherefore, whensoever he may be made into an image, inasmuch as he exists in the six powers, he will exist [there] substantially, potentially, quantitively, [and] completely. [And he will be a power] one and the same with the unbegotten and indefinite power, and not labouring under any greater deficiency than that unbegotten and unalterable [and] indefinite power. If, however, he may continue only potentially in the six powers,

[1] Emped. ed. Karst. v. 324.

[2] *νώματος αἶσαν*: Miller has *γνώμην ἴσην*, which yields but little sense.

and has not been formed into an image, he vanishes, he says, and is destroyed in such a way as the grammatical or geometrical capacity in man's soul. For when the capacity takes unto itself an art, a light of existent things is produced; but when [the capacity] does not take unto itself [an art], unskilfulness and ignorance are the results; and just as when [the power] was non-existent, it perishes along with the expiring man.

Chapter viii.

Further Progression of this Threefold Emanation—Co-existence with the Double Triad of a Seventh Existence.

And of those six powers,[1] and of the seventh which co-exists with them, the first pair, Mind and Intelligence, he calls Heaven and Earth. And that one of these, being of male sex, beholds from above and takes care of his partner, but that the earth receives below the rational fruits, akin to the earth, which are borne down from the heaven. On this account, he says, the Logos, frequently looking towards the things that are being generated from Mind and Intelligence, that is, from Heaven and Earth, exclaims, "Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, because the Lord has spoken. I have brought forth children, and exalted them; and these have rejected me." Now, he who utters these words, he says, is the seventh power—he who stood, stands, and will stand; for he himself is cause of those beauteous objects of creation which Moses commended, and said that they were very good. But Voice and Name [the second of the three pairs] are Sun and Moon; and Ratiocination and Reflection [the third of the three pairs] are Air and Water. And in all these is intermingled and blended, as I have declared, the great, the indefinite, the [self-]existing power.

[1] These powers are thus arranged:

1. Mind and Intelligence:	termed also,—	1. Heaven and Earth.
2. Voice and Name,	,, ,,	2. Sun and Moon.
3. Ratiocination and Reflection,	,,	3. Air and Water.

Chapter ix.

Simon's Interpretation of the Mosaic Hexaëmeron—his allegorical Representation of Paradise.

When, therefore, Moses has spoken of "the six days in which God made heaven and earth, and rested on the seventh from all His works,"[1] Simon, in a manner already specified, giving [these and other passages of Scripture] a different application [from the one intended by the holy writers], deifies himself. When, therefore, [the followers of Simon] affirm that there are three days begotten before sun and moon, they speak enigmatically of Mind and Intelligence, that is, Heaven and Earth, and of the seventh power, [I mean] the indefinite one. For these three powers are produced antecedent to all the rest. But when they say, "He begot me prior to all the Ages,"[2] such statements, he says, are alleged to hold good concerning the seventh power. Now this seventh power, which was a power existing in the indefinite power, which was produced prior to all the Ages, this is, he says, the seventh power, respecting which Moses utters the following words: "And the Spirit of God was wafted over[3] the water;" that is, says [the Simonian], the Spirit which contains all things in itself, and is an image of the indefinite power about which Simon speaks,—"an image from an incorruptible form, that alone reduces all things into order." For this power that is wafted over the water, being begotten, he says, from an incorruptible form alone, reduces all things into order. When, therefore, according to these [heretics], there ensued some such arrangement, and [one] similar [to it] of the world, the Deity, he says, proceeded to form man, taking clay from the earth. And He formed him not uncompounded, but twofold, according to [His own] image and likeness.[4] Now the image is the Spirit that is wafted over the water; and whosoever is not fashioned into a figure of this, will perish with the world, inasmuch as he continues only potentially, and does not exist actually. This, he says,

[1] Gen. ii. 2.
[2] Prov. viii. 22–24.
[3] "Brooded over" (see Gen. i. 2).
[4] Gen. ii. 7.

is what has been spoken, "that we should not be condemned with the world."[1] If one, however, be made into the figure of [the Spirit], and be generated from an indivisible point, as it has been written in the *Announcement*, [such a one, albeit] small, will become great. But what is great will continue unto infinite and unalterable duration, as being that which no longer is subject to the conditions of a generated entity.

How then, he says, and in what manner, does God form man? In Paradise; for so it seems to him. Grant Paradise, he says, to be the womb; and that this is a true [assumption] the Scripture will teach, when it utters the words, "I am He who forms thee in thy mother's womb."[2] For this also he wishes to have been written so. Moses, he says, resorting to allegory, has declared Paradise to be the womb, if we ought to rely on his statement. If, however, God forms man in his mother's womb—that is, in Paradise—as I have affirmed, let Paradise be the womb, and Edem the after-birth,[3] "a river flowing forth from Edem, for the purpose of irrigating Paradise,"[4] [meaning by this] the navel. This navel, he says, is separated into four principles; for on either side of the navel are situated two arteries, channels of spirit, and two veins, channels of blood. But when, he says, the umbilical vessels[5] proceed forth from Edem, that is, the caul in which the fœtus is enveloped grows into the [fœtus] that is being formed in the vicinity of the epigastrium,—[now] all in common denominate this a navel,—these two veins through which the blood flows, and is conveyed from Edem, the after-birth, to what are styled the gates of the liver; [these veins, I say,] nourish the fœtus. But the arteries which we have spoken of as being channels of spirit, embrace the bladder on both

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 32. [2] Jer. i. 5.

[3] χωρίου (*i.e.* locality) is the reading in Miller, which Cruice ingeniously alters into χόριον, the caul in which the fœtus is enclosed, which is called the "after-birth."

[4] Gen. ii. 10.

[5] This rendering follows Cruice, who has succeeded in clearing away the obscurity of the passage as given in Miller.

sides, around the pelvis, and connect it with the great artery, called the aorta, in the vicinity of the dorsal ridge. And in this way the spirit, making its way through the ventricles to the heart, produces a movement of the fœtus. For the infant that was formed in Paradise neither receives nourishment through the mouth, nor breathes through the nostrils: for as it lay in the midst of moisture, at its feet was death, if it attempted to breathe; for it would [thus] have been drawn away from moisture, and perished [accordingly]. But [one may go further than this]; for the entire [fœtus] is bound tightly round by a covering styled the caul, and is nourished by a navel, and it receives through the [aorta], in the vicinity of the dorsal ridge, as I have stated, the substance of the spirit.

Chapter x.

Simon's Explanation of the First Two Books of Moses.

The river, therefore, he says, which proceeds out of Edem is divided into four principles, four channels—that is, into four senses, belonging to the creature that is being born, viz. seeing, smelling, taste, and touch; for the child formed in Paradise has these senses only. This, he says, is the law which Moses appointed; and in reference to this very law, each of his books has been written, as the inscriptions evince. The first book is Genesis. The inscription of the book is, he says, sufficient for a knowledge of the universe. For this is [equivalent in meaning with] generation, [that is,] vision, into which one section of the river is divided. For the world was seen by the power of vision. Again, the inscription of the second book is Exodus. For what has been produced, passing through the Red Sea, must come into the wilderness (now they say he calls the Red [Sea] blood), and taste bitter water. For bitter, he says, is the water which is [drunk] after [crossing] the Red Sea; which [water] is a path to be trodden, that leads [us] to a knowledge in [this] life of [our] toilsome and bitter lot. Altered, however, by Moses—that is, by the Logos—that bitter [water] becomes sweet. And

that this is so we may hear in common from all who express themselves according to the [sentiments of the] poets:

> "Dark at the root, like milk, the flower,
> Gods call it 'Moly,' and hard for mortal men
> To dig, but power divine is boundless."[1]

Chapter XI.

Simon's Explanation of the Three last Books of the Pentateuch.

What is spoken by the Gentiles is sufficient for a knowledge of the universe to those who have ears [capable] of hearing. For whosoever, he says, has tasted this fruit, is not the only one that is changed by Circe into a beast; but also, employing the power of such a fruit, he forms anew and moulds afresh, and re-entices into that primary peculiar character of theirs, those that already have been altered into beasts. But a faithful man, and beloved by that sorceress, is, he says, discovered through that milk-like and divine fruit. In like manner, the third book is Leviticus, which is smelling, or respiration. For the entire of that book is [an account] of sacrifices and offerings. Where, however, there is a sacrifice, a certain savour of the fragrance arises from the sacrifice through the incense-offerings; and in regard of this fragrance [the sense of] smelling is a test. Numbers, the fourth of the books, signifies taste, where the discourse is operative. For, from the fact of its speaking all things, it is denominated by numerical arrangement. But Deuteronomy, he says, is written in reference to the [sense of] touch possessed by the child that is being formed. For as touch, by seizing the things that are seen by the other senses, sums them up and ratifies them, testing what is rough, or warm, or clammy, [or cold]; so the fifth book of the law constitutes a summary of the four books preceding this.

All things, therefore, he says, when unbegotten, are in us potentially, not actually, as the grammatical or geometrical [art]. If, then, one receives proper instruction and teaching, and [where consequently] what is bitter will be altered into

[1] *Odyssey*, x. 304 et seq.

what is sweet,—that is, the spears into pruning-hooks, and the swords into ploughshares,[1]—there will not be chaff and wood begotten for fire, but mature fruit, fully formed, as I said, equal and similar to the unbegotten and indefinite power. If, however, a tree continues alone, not producing fruit fully formed, it is utterly destroyed. For somewhere near, he says, is the axe [which is laid] at the roots of the tree. Every tree, he says, which does not produce good fruit, is hewn down and cast into fire.[2]

Chapter xii.

Fire a Primal Principle, according to Simon.

According to Simon, therefore, there exists that which is blessed and incorruptible in a latent condition in every one—[that is,] potentially, not actually; and that this is He who stood, stands,[3] and is to stand.[4] He has stood above in unbegotten power. He stands below, when in the stream of waters He was begotten in a likeness. He is to stand above, beside the blessed indefinite power, if He be fashioned into an image. For, he says, there are three who have stood; and except there were three Æons who have stood, the unbegotten one is not adorned. [Now the unbegotten one] is, according to them, wafted over the water, and is re-made, according to

[1] Isa. ii. 4. [2] Matt. iii. 10; Luke iii. 9.

[3] In the *Recognitions of Clement* we have this passage: "He (Simon) wishes himself to be believed to be an exalted power, which is above God the Creator, and to be thought to be the Christ, and to be called the standing one" (Ante-Nicene Library, vol. iii. p. 196).

[4] The expression *stans* (standing) was used by the scholastics as applicable to the divine nature. Interpreted in this manner, the words in the text would be equivalent with "which was, and is, and is to come" (Rev. i. 8). The *Recognitions of Clement* explain the term thus: "He (Simon) uses this name as implying that he can never be dissolved, asserting that his flesh is so compacted by the power of his divinity, that it can endure to eternity. Hence, therefore, he is called the *standing one*, as though he cannot fall by any corruption" (Ante-Nicene Library, vol. iii. p. 196).

the similitude [of an eternal nature], a perfect celestial [being], in no [quality of] intelligence formed inferior to the unbegotten power: that is what they say—I and you, one; you, before me; I, that which is after you. This, he says, is one power divided above [and] below, generating itself, making itself grow, seeking itself, finding itself, being mother of itself, father of itself, sister of itself, spouse of itself, daughter of itself, son of itself, mother, father, a unit, being a root of the entire circle of existence.

And that, he says, the originating principle of the generation of things begotten is from fire, he discerns after some such method as the following. Of all things, [*i.e.*] of whatsoever there is a generation, the beginning of the desire of the generation is from fire. Wherefore the desire after mutable generation is denominated "to be inflamed." For when the fire is one, it admits of two conversions. For, he says, blood in the man being both warm and yellow, is converted as a figured flame into seed; but in the woman this same blood is converted into milk. And the conversion of the male becomes generation, but the conversion of the female nourishment for the fœtus. This, he says, is "the flaming sword, which turned to guard the way of the tree of life."[1] For the blood is converted into seed and milk, and this power becomes mother and father—father of those things that are in process of generation, and the augmentation of those things that are being nourished; [and this power is] without further want, [and] self-sufficient. And, he says, the tree of life is guarded, as we have stated, by the brandished flaming sword. And it is the seventh power, that which [is produced] from itself, [and] which contains all [powers, and] which reposes in the six powers. For if the flaming sword be not brandished, that good tree will be destroyed, and perish. If, however, these be converted into seed and milk, the principle that resides in these potentially, and is in possession of a proper position, in which is evolved a principle of souls, [such a principle,] beginning, as it were, from a very small spark, will be altogether magnified, and will increase and become a power indefinite

[1] Gen. iii. 24.

[and] unalterable, [equal and similar] to an unalterable age, which no longer passes into the indefinite age.

Chapter xiii.

His Doctrine of Emanation further expanded.

Therefore, according to this reasoning, Simon became confessedly a god to his silly followers, as that Libyan, namely, Apsethus—begotten, no doubt, and subject to passion, when he may exist potentially, but devoid of propensions. [And this too, though born from one having propensions, and uncreated though born] from one that is begotten, when He may be fashioned into a figure, and, becoming perfect, may come forth from two of the primary powers, that is, Heaven and Earth. For Simon expressly speaks of this in the "Revelation" after this manner: "To you, then, I address the things which I speak, and [to you] I write what I write. The writing is this: there are two offshoots from all the Æons, having neither beginning nor end, from one root. And this is a power, viz. Sige, [who is] invisible [and] incomprehensible. And one of these [offshoots] appears from above, which constitutes a great power, [the creative] Mind of the universe, which manages all things, [and is] a male. The other [offshoot], however, is from below, [and constitutes] a great Intelligence, and is a female which produces all things. From whence, ranged in pairs opposite each other, they undergo conjugal union, and manifest an intermediate interval, namely, an incomprehensible air, which has neither beginning nor end. But in this is a father who sustains all things, and nourishes things that have beginning and end. This is He who stood, stands, and will stand, being an hermaphrodite power according to the pre-existent indefinite power, which has neither beginning nor end. Now this [power] exists in isolation. For Intelligence, [that subsists] in unity, proceeded forth from this [power], [and] became two. And that [Father] was one, for having in Himself this [power] He was isolated, and, however, He was not primal though pre-existent; but being rendered manifest to Himself from Him-

self, He passed into a state of duality. But neither was He denominated Father before this [power] would style Him Father. As, therefore, He Himself, bringing forward Himself by means of Himself, manifested unto Himself His own peculiar intelligence, so also the intelligence, when it was manifested, did not exercise the function of creation. But beholding him, she concealed the Father within herself, that is, the power; and it is an hermaphrodite power, and an intelligence. And hence it is that they are ranged in pairs, one opposite the other; for power is in no wise different from intelligence, inasmuch as they are one. For from those things that are above is discovered power; and from those below, intelligence. So it is, therefore, that likewise what is manifested from these, being unity, is discovered [to be] duality, an hermaphrodite having the female in itself. This, [therefore,] is Mind [subsisting] in Intelligence; and these are separable one from the other, [though both taken together] are one, [and] are discovered in a state of duality."

Chapter XIV.

Simon interprets his System by the Mythological Representation of Helen of Troy—gives an Account of himself in connection with the Trojan Heroine—Immorality of his Followers—Simon's View of Christ—the Simonists' Apology for their Vice.

Simon then, after inventing these [tenets], not only by evil devices interpreted the writings of Moses in whatever way he wished, but even the [works] of the poets.[1] For also he fastens an allegorical meaning on [the story of] the wooden horse and Helen with the torch, and on very many other [accounts], which he transfers to what relates to himself and to Intelligence, and [thus] furnishes a fictitious explanation of them. He said, however, that this [Helen] was the lost sheep. And she, always abiding among women, confounded the powers in the world by reason of her surpassing beauty. Whence, likewise, the Trojan war arose on her account. For in the Helen born at that time resided this Intelligence; and thus, when all the powers were for claiming her [for them-

[1] Homer, for instance (see Epiphanius, *Hæres.* xxi. 3).

selves], sedition and war arose, during which [this chief power] was manifested to nations. And from this circumstance, without doubt, we may believe that Stesichorus, who had through [some] verses reviled her, was deprived of the use of his eyes; and that, again, when he repented and composed recantations, in which he sung [Helen's] praises, he recovered the power of vision. But the angels and the powers below—who, he says, created the world — caused the transference from one body to another of [Helen's soul]; and subsequently she stood on the roof of a house in Tyre, a city of Phœnicia, and on going down thither [Simon professed to have] found her. For he stated that, principally for the purpose of searching after this [woman], he had arrived [in Tyre], in order that he might rescue her from bondage. And after having thus redeemed her, he was in the habit of conducting her about with himself, alleging that this [girl] was the lost sheep, and affirming himself to be the Power above all things. But the filthy[1] fellow, becoming enamoured of this miserable woman called Helen, purchased her [as his slave], and enjoyed her person. He, [however,] was likewise moved with shame towards his disciples, and concocted this figment [to conceal his disgrace].

But, again, those who become followers of this impostor—I mean Simon the sorcerer—indulge in similar practices, and irrationally allege the necessity of promiscuous intercourse. They express themselves in the manner following: "All earth is earth, and there is no difference where any one sows, provided he does sow." But even they congratulate themselves on account of this indiscriminate intercourse, asserting that this is perfect love, and employing the expressions, "holy of holies," and "sanctify one another."[2] For [they would have

[1] μιαρὸς, Bunsen's emendation for ψυχρὸς, the reading in Miller and Schneidewin. Some read ψυδρὸς, *i.e.* lying; others ψευδόχριστος, *i.e.* counterfeit Christ. Cruice considers Bunsen's emendation unnecessary, as ψυχρὸς may be translated "absurd fellow." The word, literally meaning cold, is applied in a derived sense to persons who were heartless,—an import suitable to Hippolytus' meaning.

[2] This rendering is according to Bunsen's emendation of the text.

us believe] that they are not overcome by the supposed vice, for that they have been redeemed. "And [Jesus], by having redeemed Helen in this way," [Simon says,] "has afforded salvation to men through his own peculiar intelligence. For inasmuch as the angels, by reason of their lust for pre-eminence, improperly managed the world, [Jesus Christ] being transformed, and being assimilated to the rulers and powers and angels, came for the restoration [of things]. And so [it was that Jesus] appeared as man, when in reality he was not a man. And [so it was] that likewise he suffered (though not actually undergoing suffering, but appearing to the Jews to do so[1]) in Judæa as 'Son,' and in Samaria as 'Father,'[2] and among the rest of the Gentiles as 'Holy Spirit.'" And [Simon alleges] that Jesus tolerated being styled by whichever name [of the three just mentioned] men might wish to call him. "And that the prophets, deriving their inspiration from the world-making angels, uttered predictions [concerning him]." Wherefore, [Simon said,] that towards these [prophets] those felt no concern up to the present, who believe on Simon and Helen, and that they do whatsoever they please, as persons free; for they allege that they are saved by grace. For that there is no reason for punishment, even though one shall act wickedly; for such a one is not wicked by nature, but by enactment. "For the angels who created the world made," he says, "whatever enactments they pleased," thinking by such [legislative] words to enslave those who listened to them. But, again, they speak of a dissolution[3] of the world, for the redemption of his own particular adherents.

[1] Cruice omits the word δεδοκηκέναι, which seems an interpolation. The above rendering adopts the proposed emendation.

[2] Bunsen thinks that there is an allusion here to the conversation of our Lord with the woman of Samaria; and if so, that Menander, a disciple of Simon, and not Simon himself, was the author of *The Great Announcement*, as the heretic did not outlive St. Peter and St. Paul, and therefore died before the period at which St. John's Gospel was written.

[3] Miller reads φύσιν, which makes no sense. The rendering above follows Bunsen's emendation of the text.

Chapter xv.

Simon's Disciples adopt the Mysteries—Simon meets St. Peter at Rome —Account of Simon's closing Years.

The disciples, then, of this [Magus], celebrate magical rites, and resort to incantations. And [they profess to] transmit both love-spells and charms, and the demons said to be senders of dreams, for the purpose of distracting whomsoever they please. But they also employ those denominated Paredroi. "And they have an image of Simon [fashioned] into the figure of Jupiter, and [an image] of Helen in the form of Minerva; and they pay adoration to these." But they call the one Lord and the other Lady. And if any one amongst them, on seeing the images of either Simon or Helen, would call them by name, he is cast off, as being ignorant of the mysteries. This Simon, deceiving many[1] in Samaria by his sorceries, was reproved by the Apostles, and was laid under a curse, as it has been written in the Acts. But he afterwards abjured the faith, and attempted these [aforesaid practices]. And journeying as far as Rome,[2] he fell in with the Apostles; and to him, deceiving many by his sorceries, Peter offered repeated opposition. This man, ultimately repairing to . . . . . [and] sitting under a plane tree, con-

[1] The Abbe Cruice considers that the statements made by Origen (*Contr. Celsum*, lib. i. p. 44, ed. Spenc.), respecting the followers of Simon in respect of number, militates against Origen's authorship of *The Refutation.*

[2] This rendering follows the text of Schneidewin and Cruice. The *Clementine Recognitions* (Ante-Nicene Library, vol. iii. p. 273) represent Simon Magus as leaving for Rome, and St. Peter resolving to follow him thither. Miller's text is different; and as emended by him, Hippolytus' account would harmonize with that given in the Acts. Miller's text may be thus translated: "And having been laid under a curse, as has been written in the Acts, he subsequently disapproved of his practices, and made an attempt to journey as far as Rome, but he fell in with the apostles," etc. The text of Cruice and Schneidewin seems less forced; while the statement itself—a new witness to this controverted point in ecclesiastical history concerning St. Peter—corroborates Hippolytus' authorship of *The Refutation.*

tinued to give instruction [in his doctrines]. And in truth at last, when conviction was imminent, in case he delayed longer, he stated that, if he were buried alive, he would rise the third day. And accordingly, having ordered a trench to be dug by his disciples,[1] he directed himself to be interred there. They, then, executed the injunction given; whereas he remained [in that grave] until this day, for he was not the Christ. This constitutes the legendary system advanced by Simon, and from this Valentinus derived a starting-point [for his own doctrine. This doctrine, in point of fact, was the same with the Simonian, though Valentinus] denominated it under different titles: for "Nous," and "Aletheia," and "Logos," and "Zoe," and "Anthropos," and "Ecclesia," the Æons of Valentinus, are confessedly the six roots of Simon, viz. "Mind" and "Intelligence," "Voice" and "Name," "Ratiocination" and "Reflection." But since it seems to us that we have sufficiently explained Simon's tissue of legends, let us see what also Valentinus asserts.

Chapter xvi.

Heresy of Valentinus—derived from Plato and Pythagoras.

The heresy of Valentinus[2] is certainly, then, connected with the Pythagorean and Platonic theory. For Plato, in

[1] Justin Martyr mentions, as an instance of the estimation in which Simon Magus was held among his followers, that a statue was erected to him at Rome. (Ante-Nicene Library, vol. ii. p. 29.) Bunsen considers that the rejection of this fable of Justin Martyr's points to the author of *The Refutation* being a Roman, who would therefore, as he shows himself in the case of the statue, be better informed than the eastern writer of any event occurring in the capital of the West. Hippolytus' silence is a presumption against the existence of such a statue, though it is very possible he might omit to mention it, supposing it to be at Rome. At all events, the very precise statement of Justin Martyr ought not to be rejected on slight or conjectural grounds. (See Ante-Nicene Library, note, vol. ii. p. 29.)

[2] Valentinus came from Alexandria to Rome during the pontificate of Hyginus, and established a school there. His desire seems to have been to remain in communion with Rome, which he did for many years, as Tertullian informs us. Epiphanius, however, tells that Valentinus,

the *Timæus*, altogether derives his impressions from Pythagoras, and therefore Timæus himself is his Pythagorean stranger. Wherefore, it appears expedient that we should commence by reminding [the reader] of a few points of the Pythagorean and Platonic theory, and that [then we should proceed] to declare the opinions of Valentinus.[1] For even although in the books previously finished by us with so much pains, are contained the opinions advanced by both Pythagoras and Plato, yet at all events I shall not be acting unreasonably, in now also calling to the recollection of the reader, by means of an epitome, the principal heads of the favourite tenets of these [speculators]. And this [recapitulation] will facilitate our knowledge of the doctrines of Valentinus, by means of a nearer comparison, and by similarity of composition [of the two systems]. For [Pythagoras and Plato] derived these tenets originally from the Egyptians, and introduced their novel opinions among the Greeks. But [Valentinus took his opinions] from these, because, although he has suppressed the truth regarding his obligations to [the Greek philosophers], and in this way has endeavoured to

towards the end of his life, when living in Cyprus, separated entirely from the church. Irenæus, book i.; Tertullian on Valentinus, and chap. xxx. of his *Præscript.;* Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* iv. 13, vi. 6; Theodoret, *Hæret. fab.* i. 7; Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxxi.; St. Augustine, *Hær.* xi.; Philastrius, *Hist. Hæres.* c. viii.; Photius, *Biblioth.* cap. ccxxx.; Clemens Alexandrinus' *Epitome of Theodotus* (pp. 789–809, ed. Sylburg). The title is, Ἐκ τῶν Θεοδότου καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας, κατὰ τοὺς Οὐαλεντίνου χρόνους ἐπιτομαί. See likewise Neander's *Church History*, vol. ii. Bohn's edition.

[1] These opinions are mostly given in extracts from Valentinus' work *Sophia*, a book of great repute among Gnostics, and not named by Hippolytus, probably as being so well known at the time. The *Gospel of Truth*, mentioned by Irenæus as used among the Valentinians, is not, however, considered to be from the pen of Valentinus. In the extracts given by Hippolytus from Valentinus, it is important (as in the case of Basilides: see translator's introduction) to find that he quotes St. John's Gospel, and St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. The latter had been pronounced by the Tübingen school as belonging to the period of the Montanistic disputes in the middle of the second century, that is, somewhere about 25–30 years after Valentinus.

construct a doctrine, [as it were,] peculiarly his own, yet, in point of fact, he has altered the doctrines of those [thinkers] in names only, and numbers, and has adopted a peculiar terminology [of his own]. Valentinus has formed his definitions by measures, in order that he may establish an Hellenic heresy, diversified no doubt, but unstable, and not connected with Christ.

Chapter xvii.

Origin of the Greek Philosophy.

The origin, then, from which Plato derived his theory in the *Timæus*, is [the] wisdom of the Egyptians.[1] For from this source, by some ancient and prophetical tradition, Solon[2] taught his entire system concerning the generation and destruction of the world, as Plato says, to the Greeks, who were [in knowledge] young children, and were acquainted with no theological doctrine of greater antiquity. In order, therefore, that we may trace accurately the arguments by which Valentinus established his tenets, I shall now explain what are the principles of the philosophy of Pythagoras of Samos,—a philosophy [coupled] with that Silence so celebrated by the Greeks. And next in this manner [I shall elucidate] those [opinions] which Valentinus derives from Pythagoras and Plato, but refers with all solemnity of speech to Christ, and before Christ to the Father of the universe, and to Silence conjoined with the Father.

Chapter xviii.

Pythagoras' System of Numbers.

Pythagoras, then, declared the originating principle of the universe to be the unbegotten monad, and the generated duad, and the rest of the numbers. And he says that the monad is the father of the duad, and the duad the mother of all things that are being begotten—the begotten one [being mother] of

[1] See *Timæus*, c. vii. ed. Bekker.

[2] Or "Solomon," evidently a mistake.

the things that are begotten. And Zaratas, the pupil of Pythagoras, was in the habit of denominating unity a father, and duality a mother. For the duad has been generated from the monad, according to Pythagoras; and the monad is male and primary, but the duad female [and secondary]. And from the duad, again, as Pythagoras states, [are generated] the triad and the succeeding numbers up to ten. For Pythagoras is aware that this is the only perfect number—I mean the decade—for that eleven and twelve are an addition and repetition of the decade; not, however, that what is added[1] constitutes the generation of another number. And all solid bodies he generates from incorporeal [essences]. For he asserts that an element and principle of both corporeal and incorporeal entities is the point which is indivisible. And from a point, he says, is generated a line, and from a line a surface; and a surface flowing out into a height becomes, he says, a solid body. Whence also the Pythagoreans have a certain object of adjuration, viz. the concord of the four elements. And they swear in these words:

> "By him who to our head quaternion gives,
> A font that has the roots of everlasting nature."[2]

Now the quaternion is the originating principle of natural and solid bodies, as the monad of intelligible ones. And that likewise the quaternion generates,[3] he says, the perfect number, as in the case of intelligibles [the monad] does the decade, they teach thus. If any, beginning to number, says one, and adds two, then in like manner three, these [together] will be six, and to these [add] moreover four, the entire [sum], in like manner, will be ten. For one, two, three, four, become ten, the perfect number. Thus, he says, the quaternion in every respect imitated the intelligible monad, which was able to generate a perfect number.

[1] Miller would read for προστιθέμενον, νομιστέον or νομίζει.

[2] Respecting these lines, Miller refers us to Fabricius, *in Sextum Empiricum*, p. 332.

[3] The Abbe Cruice adduces a passage from Suidas (on the word ἀοιθμός) which contains a similar statement to that furnished by Hippolytus.

Chapter xix.

Pythagoras' Duality of Substances—his "Categories."

There are, then, according to Pythagoras, two worlds: one intelligible, which has the monad for an originating principle; and the other sensible. But of this [latter] is the quaternion having the iota, the one tittle,[1] a perfect number. And there likewise is, according to the Pythagoreans, the *i*, the one tittle, which is chief and most dominant, and enables us to apprehend the substance of those intelligible entities which are capable of being understood through the medium of intellect and of sense. [And in this substance inhere] the nine incorporeal accidents which cannot exist without substance, viz. "quality," and "quantity," and "relation," and "where," and "when," and "position," and "possession," and "action," and "passion." These, then, are the nine accidents [inhering in] substance, and when reckoned with these [substances], contains the perfect number, the *i*. Wherefore, the universe being divided, as we said, into the intelligible and sensible world, we have also reason from the intelligible [world], in order that by reason we may behold the substance of things that are cognised by intellect, and are incorporeal and divine. But we have, he says, five senses—smelling, seeing, hearing, taste, and touch. Now, by these we arrive at a knowledge of things that are discerned by sense; and so, he says, the sensible is divided from the intelligible world. And that we have for each of these an instrument for attaining knowledge, we perceive from the following consideration. Nothing, he says, of intelligibles can be known to us from sense. For he says neither eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor any whatsoever of the other senses known that [which is cognised by mind]. Neither, again, by reason is it possible to arrive at a knowledge of any of the things discernible by sense. But one must see that a thing is white, and taste that it is sweet, and know by hearing that it is musical or out of tune. And whether any odour is fragrant or disagreeable, is the function

[1] Matt. v. 18.

of smell, not of reason. It is the same with objects of touch; for anything rough, or soft, or warm, or cold, it is not possible to know by hearing, but [far from it], for touch is the judge of such [sensations]. Things being thus constituted, the arrangement of things that have been made and are being made is observed to happen in conformity with numerical [combinations]. For in the same manner as, commencing from monad, by an addition of monads or triads, and a collection of the succeeding numbers, we make some one very large complex whole of number; [and] then, again, from an amassed number thus formed by addition, we accomplish, by means of a certain subtraction and re-calculation, a solution of the totality of the aggregate numbers; so likewise he asserts that the world, bound by a certain arithmetical and musical chain, was, by its tension and relaxation, and by addition and subtraction, always and for ever preserved incorrupt.

Chapter xx.

Pythagoras' Cosmogony—similar to that of Empedocles.

The Pythagoreans therefore declare their opinion concerning the continuance of the world in some such manner as this:

> "For heretofore it was and will be; never, I ween,
> Of both of these will void the age eternal be."

"Of these;" but what are they? Discord and Love. Now, in their system, Love forms the world incorruptible [and] eternal, as they suppose. For substance and the world are one. Discord, however, separates and puts asunder, and evinces numerous attempts by subdividing to form the world. It is just as if one severs into small parts, and divides arithmetically the myriad into thousands, and hundreds, and tens; and drachmæ into oboli and small farthings. In this manner, he says, Discord severs the substance of the world into animals, plants, metals, and things similar to these. And the fabricator of the generation of all things produced is, according to them, Discord; whereas Love, on the other hand,

manages and provides for the universe in such a manner that it enjoys permanence. And conducting together[1] into unity the divided and scattered parts of the universe, and leading them forth from their [separate] mode of existence, [Love] unites and adds to the universe, in order that it may enjoy permanence; and it thus constitutes one system. They will not therefore cease,—neither Discord dividing the world, nor Love attaching to the world the divided parts. Of some such description as this, so it appears, is the distribution of the world according to Pythagoras. But Pythagoras says that the stars are fragments from the sun, and that the souls[2] of animals are conveyed from the stars; and that these are mortal when they are in the body, just as if buried, as it were, in a tomb: whereas that they rise [out of this world] and become immortal, when we are separated from our bodies. Whence Plato, being asked by some one, "What is philosophy?" replied, "It is a separation of soul from body."

Chapter xxi.

Other Opinions of Pythagoras.

Pythagoras, then, became a student of these doctrines likewise, in which he speaks both by enigmas and some such expressions as these: "When you depart from your own [tabernacle], return not;[3] if, however, [you act] not [thus], the Furies, auxiliaries to justice, will overtake you,"—denominating the body one's own [tabernacle], and its passions the Furies. When, therefore, he says, you depart, that is, when you go forth from the body, do not earnestly crave for this; but if you are eagerly desirous [for departure], the

[1] Or, *συνάγει*, leads together.

[2] The Abbe Cruice considers that the writer of *The Refutation* did not agree with Pythagoras' opinion regarding the soul,—a fact that negatives the authorship of Origen, who assented to the Pythagorean psychology. The question concerning the pre-existence of the soul is stated in a passage often quoted, viz. St. Jerome's *Letter to Marcellina* (Ep. 82).

[3] Cruice thinks that the following words are taken from Heraclitus, and refers to Plutarch, *De Exilio*, c. xi.

passions will once more confine you within the body. For these suppose that there is a transition of souls from one body to another, as also Empedocles, adopting the principles of Pythagoras, affirms. For, says he, souls that are lovers of pleasure, as Plato states,[1] if, when they are in the condition of suffering incidental to man, they do not evolve theories of philosophy, must pass through all animals and plants [back] again into a human body. And when [the soul] may form a system of speculation thrice in the same body, [he maintains] that it ascends up to the nature of some kindred star. If, however, [the soul] does not philosophize, [it must pass] through the same [succession of changes once more]. He affirms, then, that the soul sometimes may become even mortal, if it is overcome by the Furies, that is, the passions [of the body]; and immortal, if it succeeds in escaping the Furies, which are the passions.

Chapter xxii.

The "Sayings" of Pythagoras.

But since also we have chosen to mention the sayings darkly expressed by Pythagoras to his disciples by means of symbols, it seems likewise expedient to remind [the reader] of the rest [of his doctrines. And we touch on this subject] on account also of the heresiarchs, who attempt by some method of this description to converse by means of symbols; and these are not their own, but they have, [in propounding them,] taken advantage of expressions employed by the Pythagoreans.[2] Pythagoras then instructs his disciples, addressing them as follows: "Bind up the sack that carries the bedding." [Now], inasmuch as they who intend going upon a

[1] *Phædo*, vol. i. p. 89, ed. Bekker.

[2] These sayings (*Symbola Pythagorica*) have been collected by, amongst others, Thomas Stanley, and more recently by Gaspar Orellius. The meaning and the form of the proverbs given by Hippolytus do not always correspond with, *e.g.*, Jamblichus (the biographer of Pythagoras), Porphyry, and Plutarch. The curious reader can see the *Proverbs*, in all their variety of readings and explanations, in the edition of L. Gyraldus.

journey tie their clothes into a wallet, to be ready for the road; so, [in like manner,] he wishes his disciples to be prepared, since every moment death is likely to come upon them by surprise.[1] [In this way Pythagoras sought to effect] that [his followers] should labour under no deficiency in the qualifications required in his pupils.[2] Wherefore of necessity he was in the habit, with the dawn of day, of instructing the Pythagoreans to encourage one another to bind up the sack that carries the bedding, that is, to be ready for death. "Do not stir fire with a sword;"[3] [meaning,] do not, by addressing him, quarrel with an enraged man; for a person in a passion is like fire, whereas the sword is the uttered expression. "Do not trample on a besom;"[4] [meaning,] despise not a small matter. "Plant not a palm tree in a house;" [meaning,] foment not discord in a family, for the palm tree is a symbol of battle and slaughter.[5] "Eat not from a stool;" [meaning,] do not undertake an ignoble art, in order that you may not be a slave to the body, which is corruptible, but make a livelihood from literature. For it lies within your reach both to

[1] This has been explained by Erasmus as a precept enjoining habits of tidiness and modesty.

[2] Miller's text here yields a different but not very intelligible meaning.

[3] Horace quotes this proverb (2 *Serm.* iii. 274) with a somewhat different meaning. Porphyry considers it a precept against irreverent language towards the Deity, the fire being a symbol—for instance, the vestal fire—of the everlasting nature of God. Σκάλευε in Hippolytus is also read, *e.g.* by Basil, ζαίνοντες, that is, cleaving. This alludes to some ancient game in which fire was struck at and severed.

[4] Σάρον. This word also signifies "sweepings" or "refuse." Some say it means a Chaldæan or Babylonian measure. The meaning would then be: Neglect not giving good measure, *i.e.* practise fair dealing. This agrees with another form of the proverb, reading ζυγόν for σάρον—that is, overlook not the balance or scales.

[5] Another meaning assigned to this proverb is, "Labour to no purpose." The palm, it is alleged, when it grows of itself, produces fruit, but sterility ensues upon transplantation. The proverb is also said to mean: Avoid what may seem agreeable, but really is injurious. This alludes to the quality of the wine (see Xenophon's *Anab.* ii.), which, pleasant in appearance, produced severe headache in those partaking of it.

nourish the body, and make the soul better.[1] "Don't take a bite out of an uncut loaf;" [meaning,] diminish not thy possessions, but live on the profit [of them], and guard thy substance as an entire loaf.[2] "Feed not on beans;" [meaning] accept not the government of a city, for with beans they at that time were accustomed to ballot for their magistrates.[3]

Chapter xxiii.

Pythagoras' Astronomic System.

These, then, and such like assertions, the Pythagoreans put forward; and the heretics, imitating these, are supposed by some to utter important truths. The Pythagorean system, however, lays down that the Creator of all alleged existences is the Great Geometrician and Calculator—a sun; and that this one has been fixed in the whole world, just as in bodies a soul, according to the statement of Plato. For the sun [being

[1] "Eat not from a stool." This proverb is also differently read and interpreted. Another form is, "Eat not from a chariot," of which the import is variously given, as, Do not tamper with your health, because food swallowed in haste, as it must be when one is driving a team of horses, cannot be salutary or nutritive; or, Do not be careless, because one should attend to the business in hand: if that be guiding a chariot, one should not at the same time try to eat his meals.

[2] The word "entire" Plutarch adds to this proverb. Its ancient form would seem to inculcate patience and courtesy, as if one should not, when at meals, snap at food before others. As read in Plutarch, it has been also interpreted as a precept to avoid creating dissension, the unbroken bread being a symbol of unity. It has likewise been explained as an injunction against greediness. The loaf was marked by two intersecting lines into four parts, and one was not to devour all of these. (See Horace, 1 *Epist.* xvii. 49.)

[3] This is the generally received import of the proverb. Ancient writers, however, put forward other meanings, connected chiefly with certain effects of beans, *e.g.* disturbing the mind, and producing melancholy, which Pythagoras is said to have noticed. Horace had no such idea concerning beans (see 2 *Serm.* vi. 63), but evidently alludes to a belief of the magi that disembodied spirits resided in beans. (See Lucian, *Micyll.*; Plutarch, Περὶ Παίδ. Ἀγωγ. 17; Aulus Gellius, iv. 11; and Guigniaut's Cruiser's *Symbolik*, i. 160.)

of the nature of] fire,[1] resembles the soul, but the earth [resembles the] body. And, separated from fire, there would be nothing visible, nor would there be any object of touch without something solid; but not any solid body exists without earth. Whence the Deity, locating air in the midst, fashioned the body of the universe out of fire and earth. And the Sun, he says, calculates and geometrically measures the world in some such manner as the following: The world is a unity cognizable by sense; and concerning this [world] we now make these assertions. But one who is an adept in the science of numbers, and a geometrician, has divided it into twelve parts. And the names of these parts are as follow: Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces. Again, he divides each of the twelve parts into thirty parts, and these are days of the month. Again, he divides each part of the thirty parts into sixty small divisions, and [each] of these small [divisions] he subdivides into minute portions, and [these again] into portions still more minute. And always doing this, and not intermitting, but collecting from these divided portions [an aggregate], and constituting it a year; and again resolving and dividing the compound, [the sun] completely finishes the great and everlasting world.[2]

Chapter xxiv.

Valentinus convicted of plagiarisms from the Platonic and Pythagoric Philosophy—the Valentinian Theory of Emanation by Duads.

Of some such nature, as I who have accurately examined their systems [have attempted] to state compendiously, is the opinion of Pythagoras and Plato. And from this [system], not from the Gospels, Valentinus, as we have proved, has collected the [materials of] heresy—I mean his own [heresy]—and may [therefore] justly be reckoned a Pythagorean and

[1] The text seems doubtful. Some would read, "The sun is [to be compared with] soul, and the moon with body."

[2] Or, "completes the great year of the world" (see book iv. chap. vii. of *The Refutation*).

Platonist, not a Christian. Valentinus, therefore, and Heracleon, and Ptolemæus, and the entire school of these [heretics], as disciples of Pythagoras and Plato, [and] following these guides, have laid down as the fundamental principle of their doctrine the arithmetical system. For, likewise, according to these [Valentinians], the originating cause of the universe is a Monad, unbegotten, imperishable, incomprehensible, inconceivable, productive, and a cause of the generation of all existent things. And the aforesaid Monad is styled by them Father. There is, however, discoverable among them some considerable diversity of opinion. For some of them, in order that the Pythagorean doctrine of Valentinus may be altogether free from admixture [with other tenets], suppose that the Father is unfeminine, and unwedded, and solitary. But others, imagining it to be impossible that from a male only there could proceed a generation at all of any of those things that have been made to exist, necessarily reckon along with the Father of the universe, in order that he may be a father, Sige as a spouse. But as to Sige, whether at any time she is united in marriage [to the Father] or not, this is a point which we leave them to wrangle about among themselves. We at present, keeping to the Pythagorean principle, which is one, and unwedded, unfeminine, [and] deficient in nothing, shall proceed to give an account of their doctrines, as they themselves inculcate them. There is, says [Valentinus], not anything at all begotten, but the Father is alone unbegotten, not subject to the condition of place, not [subject to the condition of] time, having no counsellor, [and] not being any other substance that could be realized according to the ordinary methods of perception. [The Father,] however, was solitary, subsisting, as they say, in a state of quietude, and Himself reposing in isolation within Himself. When, however, He became productive,[1] it seemed to Him expedient at one time to generate

[1] Valentinus' system, if purged of the glosses put upon it by his disciples, appears to have been constructed out of a grand conception of Deity, and evidences much power of abstraction. Between the essence of God, dwelling in the midst of isolation prior to an exercise of the creative energy, and the material worlds, Valentinus interposes an ideal

and lead forth the most beautiful and perfect [of those germs of existence] which He possessed within Himself, for [the Father] was not fond of solitariness. For, says he, He was all love, but love is not love except there may be some object of affection. The Father Himself, then, as He was solitary, projected and produced Nous and Aletheia, that is, a duad which became mistress,[1] and origin, and mother of all the Æons computed by them [as existing] within the Pleroma. Nous and Aletheia being projected from the Father,[2] one capable of continuing generation, deriving existence from a productive being, [Nous] himself likewise, in imitation of the Father, projected Logos and Zoe; and Logos and Zoe project Anthropos and Ecclesia. But Nous and Aletheia, when they beheld that their own offspring had been born productive, returned thanks to the Father of the universe, and offer unto Him a perfect number, viz. ten Æons. For, he says, Nous and Aletheia could not offer unto the Father a more perfect [one] than this number. For the Father, who is perfect, ought to be celebrated by a perfect number, and ten is a perfect number, because this is first of those [numbers] that are formed by plurality, [and therefore] perfect.[3] The Father, however, being more perfect, because being alone

world. Through the latter, the soul—of a kindred nature—is enabled to mount up to God. This is the import of the terms Bythus (depth) and Sige (silence, *i.e.* solitariness) afterwards used.

[1] κυρίαν: instead of this has been suggested the reading καὶ ῥίζαν, *i.e.* "which is both the root," etc.

[2] In all this Valentinus intends to delineate the progress from absolute to phenomenal being. There are three developments in this transition. Absolute being (Bythus and Sige) is the same as the eternal thought and consciousness of God's own essence. Here we have the primary emanation, viz. Nous, *i.e.* Mind (called also Monogenes, only-begotten), and Aletheia, *i.e.* Truth. Next comes the ideal manifestation through the Logos, *i.e.* Word (obviously borrowed from the prologue to St. John's Gospel), and Zoe, *i.e.* Life (taken from the same source). We have then the passage from the ideal to the actual in Anthropos, *i.e.* Man, and Ecclesia, *i.e.* Church. These last are the phenomenal manifestations of the divine mind.

[3] τέλειος: Bunsen would read τέλος, which Cruice objects to on account of the word τελειότερος occurring in the next sentence.

unbegotten, by means of the one primary conjugal union of Nous and Aletheia, found means of projecting all the roots of existent things.

Chapter xxv.

The Tenet of the Duad made the foundation of Valentinus' System of the Emanation of Æons.

Logos himself also, and Zoe, then saw that Nous and Aletheia had celebrated the Father of the universe by a perfect number; and Logos himself likewise with Zoe wished to magnify their own father and mother, Nous and Aletheia. Since, however, Nous and Aletheia were begotten, and did not possess paternal [and] perfect uncreatedness, Logos and Zoe do not glorify Nous their father with a perfect number, but far from it, with an imperfect one.[1] For Logos and Zoe offer twelve Æons unto Nous and Aletheia. For, according to Valentinus, these—namely, Nous and Aletheia, Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Ecclesia—have been the primary roots of the Æons. But there are ten Æons proceeding from Nous and Aletheia, and twelve from Logos and Zoe—twenty and eight in all.[2] And to these [ten] they give these following denominations:[3] Bythus and Mixis, Ageratus and Henosis, Autophyes and Hedone, Acinetus and Syncrasis, Monogenes and Macaria.[4] These are ten

[1] This follows the text as emended by Bernays.

[2] The number properly should be thirty, as there were two tetrads: (1) Bythus, Sige, Nous, and Aletheia; (2) Logos, Zoe, Ecclesia, and Anthropos. Some, as we learn from Hippolytus, made up the number to thirty, by the addition of Christ and the Holy Ghost,—a fact which Bunsen thinks conclusively proves that the alleged generation of Æons was a subsequent addition to Valentinus' system.

[3] There is some confusion in Hippolytus' text, which is, however, removeable by a reference to Irenæus (i. 1).

[4] We subjoin the meanings of these names:

Ten Æons from Nous and Aletheia, (or) Logos and Zoe, viz.:

1. Bythus	= Profundity.	6. Hedone	= Voluptuousness.
2. Mixis	= Mixture.	7. Acinetus	= Motionless.
3. Ageratos	= Ever-young.	8. Syncrasis	= Composition.
4. Henosis	= Unification.	9. Monogenes	= Only-begotten.
5. Autophyes	= Self-grown.	10. Macaria	= Blessedness.

Æons whom some say [have been projected] by Nous and Aletheia, but some by Logos and Zoe. Others, however, affirm that the twelve [Æons have been projected] by Anthropos and Ecclesia, while others by Logos and Zoe. And upon these they bestow these following names:[1] Paracletus and Pistis, Patricus and Elpis, Metricus and Agape, Æinous and Synesis, Ecclesiasticus and Macariotes, Theletus and Sophia. But of the twelve, the twelfth and youngest of all the twenty-eight Æons, being a female, and called Sophia, observed the multitude and power of the begetting Æons, and hurried back into the depth of the Father. And she perceived that all the rest of the Æons, as being begotten, generate by conjugal intercourse. The Father, on the other hand, alone, without copulation, has produced [an offspring]. She wished to emulate the Father, and to produce [offspring] of herself without a marital partner, that she might achieve a work in no wise inferior[2] to [that of] the Father. [Sophia, however,] was ignorant that the Unbegotten One, being an originating principle of the universe, as well as root and depth and abyss, alone possesses the power of self-generation. But Sophia, being begotten, and born after many more [Æons], is not able to acquire possession of the power inherent in the Unbegotten One.

[1] The following are the meanings of these names:

Twelve Æons from Anthropos and Ecclesia, (or) Logos and Zoe:

1. Paracletus	= Comforter.	7. Æinous	= Ever-thinking.
2. Pistis	= Faith.	8. Synesis	= Intelligence.
3. Patricus	= Paternal.	9. Ecclesiasticus	= Ecclesiastical.
4. Elpis	= Hope.	10. Makariotes	= Felicity.
5. Metricus	= Temperate.	11. Theletus	= Volition.
6. Agape	= Love.	12. Sophia	= Wisdom.

[2] This Sophia was, so to speak, the bridge which spanned the abyss between God and Reality. Under an aspect of this kind Solomon (Prov. viii.) views Wisdom; and Valentinus introduces it into his system, according to the old Judaistic interpretation of Sophia, as the instrument for God's creative energy. But Sophia thought to pass beyond her function as the connecting link between limited and illimitable existence, by an attempt to evolve the infinite from herself. She fails, and an abortive image of the true Wisdom is procreated, while Sophia herself sinks into this nether world.

For in the Unbegotten One, he says, all things exist simultaneously, but in the begotten [Æons] the female is projective of substance, and the male is formative of the substance which is projected by the female. Sophia, therefore, prepared to project that only which she was capable [of projecting], viz. a formless and undigested substance.[1] And this, he says, is what Moses asserts: "The earth was invisible, and unfashioned." This [substance] is, he says, the good [and] the heavenly Jerusalem, into which God has promised to conduct the children of Israel, saying, "I will bring you into a land flowing with milk and honey."

Chapter xxvi.

Valentinus' Explanation of the Existence of Christ and the Spirit.

Ignorance, therefore, having arisen within the Pleroma in consequence of Sophia, and shapelessness in consequence of the offspring of Sophia, confusion arose in the Pleroma. [For all] the Æons that were begotten [became overwhelmed with apprehension, imagining] that in like manner formless and incomplete progenies of the Æons should be generated; and that some destruction, at no distant period, should at length seize upon the Æons. All the Æons, then, betook themselves to supplication of the Father, that he would tranquillize the sorrowing Sophia; for she continued weeping and bewailing on account of the abortion produced by her,—for so they term it. The Father, then, compassionating the tears of Sophia, and accepting the supplication of the Æons, orders a further projection. For he did not, [Valentinus] says, himself project, but Nous and Aletheia [projected] Christ and the Holy Spirit for the restoration of Form, and the destruction of the abortion, and [for] the consolation and cessation of the groans of Sophia. And thirty Æons came into existence along with Christ and the Holy Spirit. Some of these [Valentinians] wish that this should be a triacontad of Æons,

[1] Miller's text has, "a well-formed and properly-digested substance." This reading is, however, obviously wrong, as is proved by a reference to what Epiphanius states (*Hær.* xxxi.) concerning Valentinus.

whereas others desire that Sige should exist along with the Father, and that the Æons should be reckoned along with them.

Christ, therefore, being additionally projected, and the Holy Spirit, by Nous and Aletheia, immediately this abortion of Sophia, [which was] shapeless, [and] born of herself only, and generated without conjugal intercourse, separates from the entire of the Æons, lest the perfect Æons, beholding this [abortion], should be disturbed by reason of its shapelessness. In order, then, that the shapelessness of the abortion might not at all manifest itself to the perfect Æons, the Father also again projects additionally one Æon, viz. Staurus. And he being begotten great, as from a mighty and perfect father, and being projected for the guardianship and defence of the Æons, becomes a limit of the Pleroma, having within itself all the thirty Æons together, for these are they that had been projected. Now this [Æon] is styled Horos, because he separates from the Pleroma the Hysterema that is outside. And [he is called] Metocheus, because he shares also in the Hysterema. And [he is denominated] Staurus, because he is fixed inflexibly and inexorably, so that nothing of the Hysterema can come near the Æons who are within the Pleroma. Outside, then, Horos, [or] Metocheus,[1] [or] Staurus, is the Ogdoad, as it is called, according to them, and is that Sophia which is outside the Pleroma, which [Sophia] Christ, who was additionally projected by Nous and Aletheia, formed and made a perfect Æon, so that in no respect she should be inferior in power to any of the Æons within the Pleroma.[2] Since, however, Sophia was formed outside, and it was not possible and equitable that Christ and the Holy Spirit, who were projected from Nous and Aletheia, should remain outside the Pleroma, Christ hurried away, and the Holy Spirit, from her who had had shape imparted to her, unto Nous and Aletheia within the Limit, in order that with the rest of the Æons they might glorify the Father.

[1] Or, "Metagogeus" (see Irenæus, i. 1, 2, iii. 1).

[2] Bunsen corrects the passage, "So that she should not be inferior to any of the Æons, or unequal [in power] to any [of them]."

Chapter xxvii.

Valentinus' Explanation of the Existence of Jesus—Power of Jesus over Humanity.

After, then, there ensued some one [treaty of] peace and harmony between all the Æons within the Pleroma, it appeared expedient to them not only by a conjugal union to have magnified the Son, but also that by an offering of ripe fruits they should glorify the Father. Then all the thirty Æons consented to project one Æon, joint fruit of the Pleroma, that he might be [an earnest] of their union,[1] and unanimity, and peace. And he alone was projected by all the Æons in honour of the Father. This [one] is styled among them "Joint Fruit of the Pleroma." These [matters], then, took place within the Pleroma in this way. And the "Joint Fruit of the Pleroma" was projected, [that is,] Jesus (for this is his name), the great High Priest. Sophia, however, who was outside the Pleroma in search of Christ, who had given her form, and of the Holy Spirit, became involved in great terror that she would perish, if he should separate from her, who had given her form and consistency. And she was seized with grief, and fell into a state of considerable perplexity, [while] reflecting who was he who had given her form, what the Holy Spirit was, whither he had departed, who it was that had hindered them from being present, who it was that had been envious of that glorious and blessed spectacle. While involved in sufferings such as these, she turns herself to prayer and supplication of him who had deserted her. During the utterance of her entreaties, Christ, who is within the Pleroma, had mercy upon [her], and all the rest of the Æons [were similarly affected]; and they send forth beyond the Pleroma "the Joint Fruit of the Pleroma" as a spouse for Sophia, who was outside, and as a rectifier of those sufferings which she underwent in searching after Christ.

"The Fruit," then, arriving outside the Pleroma, and dis-

[1] ἑνότητος: Miller has νεότητος, *i.e.* youth. The former is the emendation of Bernays.

covering [Sophia] in the midst of those four primary passions, both fear and sorrow, and perplexity and entreaty, he rectified her affections. While, however, correcting them, he observed that it would not be proper to destroy these, inasmuch as they are [in their nature] eternal, and peculiar to Sophia; and yet that neither was it seemly that Sophia should exist in the midst of such passions, in fear and sorrow, supplication [and] perplexity. He therefore, as an Æon so great, and [as] offspring of the entire Pleroma, caused the passions to depart from her, and he made these substantially-existent essences.[1] He altered fear into animal desire,[2] and [made] grief material, and [rendered] perplexity [the passion] of dæmons. But conversion,[3] and entreaty, and supplication, he constituted as a path to repentance and power over the animal essence, which is denominated right.[4] The Creator[5] [acted] from fear; [and] this is what, he says, Scripture affirms: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."[6] For this is the beginning of the affections of Sophia, for she was seized with fear, next with grief, then with perplexity, and so she sought refuge in entreaty and supplication. And the animal essence is, he says, of a fiery nature, and is also termed by them the super-celestial Topos, and Hebdomad,[7] and "Ancient of Days."[8] And whatever other such statements they advance respecting this [Æon], these they allege to hold good of the

[1] This is Bunsen's text, ὑποστάτους. Duncker reads ὑποστατικὰς, hypostatic.

[2] Some read οὐσίαν (see Theodoret, *Hær.* c. vii.).

[3] ἐπιστροφὴν; or it may be rendered "solicitude." Literally, it means a turning towards, as in this instance, for the purpose of prayer (see Irenæus, i. 5).

[4] Valentinus denominates what is psychical (natural) right, and what is material or pathematic left (see Irenæus, i. 5).

[5] Cruice renders the passage thus: "which is denominated right, or Demiurge, while fear it is that accomplishes this transformation." The Demiurge is of course called "right," as being the power of the psychical essence (see Clemens Alexandrinus, *Hypot. excerpta e Theod.* c. 43).

[6] Ps. cxi. 10; Prov. i. 7, ix. 10.

[7] Schneidewin fills up the hiatus thus: "Place of Mediation." The above translation adopts the emendation of Cruice (see Irenæus, i. 5).

[8] Dan. vii. 9, 13, 22.

animalish [one], whom they assert to be creator of the world. Now he is of the appearance of fire. Moses also, he says, expresses himself thus: "The Lord thy God is a burning and consuming fire."[1] For he, likewise, wishes [to think] that it has been so written. There is, however, he says, a twofold power of the fire; for fire is all-consuming, [and] cannot be quenched. According, therefore, to this division, there exists, subject to death, a certain soul which is a sort of mediator, for it is a Hebdomad and Cessation.[2] For underneath the Ogdoad, where Sophia is, but above Matter, which is the Creator, a day has been formed,[3] and the "Joint Fruit of the Pleroma." If the soul has been fashioned in the image of those above, that is, the Ogdoad, it became immortal and repaired to the Ogdoad, which is, he says, heavenly Jerusalem. If, however, it has been fashioned in the image of Matter, that is, the corporeal passions, the soul is of a perishable nature, and is [accordingly] destroyed.

Chapter xxviii.

The Valentinian Origin of the Creation.

As, therefore, the primary and greatest power[4] of the animal essence came into existence, an image [of the only begotten Son]; so also the devil, who is the ruler of this world, constitutes the power of the material essence, as Beelzebub is of the essence of dæmons which emanates from anxiety. [In consequence of this,] Sophia from above exerted her energy from the Ogdoad to the Hebdomad. For the Demiurge, they say, knows nothing at all, but is, according to them, devoid of understanding, and silly, and is not conscious of what he is doing or working at. But in him, while thus in a state of ignorance that even he is producing, Sophia

[1] Deut. ix. 3; Ps. l. 3; Heb. xii. 29. [2] Gen. ii. 2.

[3] See *Epistle of Barnabas*, chap. xv. p. 127, vol. i. of Ante-Nicene Library, and *Ignatius' Letter to the Magnesians*, chap. ix. p. 180.

[4] The opening sentence in this chapter is confused in Miller's text. The sense, however, as given above, is deducible from a reference to a corresponding passage in Irenæus (i. 5).

wrought all sorts of energy, and infused vigour [into him]. And [although Sophia] was really the operating cause, he himself imagines that he evolves the creation of the world out of himself: whence he commenced, saying, "I am God, and beside me there is no other."[1]

CHAPTER XXIX.

The other Valentinian Emanations in conformity with the Pythagorean System of Numbers.

The quaternion, then, advocated by Valentinus, is "a source of the everlasting nature having roots;"[2] and Sophia [is the power] from whom the animal and material creation has derived its present condition. But Sophia is called "Spirit," and the Demiurge "Soul," and the Devil "the ruler of this world," and Beelzebub "the [ruler] of demons." These are the statements which they put forward. But further, in addition to these, rendering, as I have previously mentioned, their entire system of doctrine [akin to the] arithmetical [art], [they determine] that the thirty Æons within the Pleroma have again, in addition to these, projected other Æons, according to the [numerical] proportion [adopted by the Pythagoreans], in order that the Pleroma might be formed into an aggregate, according to a perfect number. For how the Pythagoreans divided [the celestial sphere] nto twelve and thirty and sixty parts, and how they have minute parts of diminutive portions, has been made evident.

In this manner these [followers of Valentinus] subdivide the parts within the Pleroma. Now likewise the parts in the Ogdoad have been subdivided, and there has been projected Sophia, which is, according to them, mother of all living creatures, and the "Joint Fruit of the Pleroma," [who is] the Logos,[3] [and other Æons,] who are celestial angels that

[1] Deut. iv. 35; Isa. xlv. 5, 14, 18, 21, 22.

[2] These words are a line out of Pythagoras' *Golden Verses:*

Πηγὴ τις ἀενάου φύσεως ῥιζώματ' ἔχουσα—(48).

[3] The Abbe Cruice thinks that a comparison of this passage with the corresponding one in Irenæus suggests the addition of *οἱ δορυφόροι* after *Λόγος*, *i.e.* the Logos and his satellites.

have their citizenship in Jerusalem which is above, which is in heaven. For this Jerusalem is Sophia, she [that is] outside [the Pleroma], and her spouse is the "Joint Fruit of the Pleroma." And the Demiurge projected souls; for this [Sophia] is the essence of souls. This [Demiurge], according to them, is Abraham, and these [souls] the children of Abraham. From the material and devilish essence the Demiurge fashioned bodies for the souls. This is what has been declared: "And God formed man, taking clay from the earth, and breathed upon his face the breath of life, and man was made into a living soul."[1] This, according to them, is the inner man, the natural [man], residing in the material body. Now a material [man] is perishable, incomplete, [and] formed out of the devilish essence. And this is the material man, as it were, according to them an inn[2] or domicile, at one time of soul only, at another time of soul and demons, at another time of soul and Logoi.[3] And these are the Logoi that have been dispersed from above, from the "Joint Fruit of the Pleroma" and [from] Sophia, into this world. And they dwell in an earthly body, with a soul, when demons do not take up their abode with that soul. This, he says, is what has been written in Scripture: "On this account I bend my knees to the God and Father and Lord of our Lord Jesus Christ, that God would grant you to have Christ dwelling in the inner man,"[4] —that is, the natural [man], not the corporeal [one],—"that you may be able to understand what is the depth," which is the Father of the universe, "and what is the breadth," which is Staurus, the limit of the Pleroma, "or what is the length," that is, the Pleroma of the Æons. Wherefore, he says, "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him;"[5] but folly, he says, is the power of the Demiurge, for he was foolish and devoid of understanding, and imagined himself to be fabricating the world. He was, however, ignorant that Sophia, the Mother, the Ogdoad, was really the cause of all the operations per-

[1] Gen. ii. 7.
[2] Or, "subterranean" (Cruice).
[3] Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxxi. sec. 7.
[4] Eph. iii. 14–18.
[5] 1 Cor. ii. 14.

formed by him who had no consciousness in reference to the creation of the world.

Chapter XXX.

Valentinus' Explanation of the Birth of Jesus—Twofold Doctrine on the Nature of Jesus' Body—Opinion of the Italians, that is, Heracleon and Ptolemæus—Opinion of the Orientals, that is, Axionicus and Bardesanes.

All the prophets, therefore, and the law, spoke by means of the Demiurge,—a silly god,[1] he says, [and themselves] fools, who knew nothing. On account of this, he says, the Saviour observes: "All that came before me are thieves and robbers."[2] And the apostle [uses these words]: "The mystery which was not made known to former generations."[3] For none of the prophets, he says, said anything concerning the things of which we speak; for [a prophet] could not but be ignorant of all [these] things, inasmuch as they certainly had been uttered by the Demiurge only. When, therefore, the creation received completion, and when after [this] there ought to have been the revelation of the sons of God—that is, of the Demiurge, which up to this had been concealed, and in which obscurity the natural man was hid, and had a veil upon the heart;—when [it was time], then, that the veil should be taken away, and that these mysteries should be seen, Jesus was born of Mary the virgin, according to the declaration [in Scripture], "The Holy Ghost will come upon thee"—Sophia is the Spirit—"and the power of the Highest will overshadow thee,"—the Highest is the Demiurge,—"wherefore that which shall be born of thee shall be called holy."[4] For he has been generated not from the highest alone, as those created in [the likeness of] Adam have been created from the highest alone—that is, [from] Sophia and the Demiurge. Jesus, however, the new man, [has been generated] from the Holy Spirit—that is, Sophia and the Demiurge—in order that the Demiurge may complete the conformation and constitution of his body, and

[1] Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxxi. 22.
[2] John x. 8.
[3] Col. i. 26.
[4] Luke i. 35.

that the Holy Spirit may supply his essence, and that a celestial Logos may proceed from the Ogdoad being born of Mary.

Concerning this [Logos] they have a great question amongst them—an occasion both of divisions and dissension. And hence the doctrine of these has become divided; and one doctrine, according to them, is termed Oriental, and the other Italian. They from Italy, of whom is Heracleon and Ptolemæus, say that the body of Jesus was [an] animal [one]. And on account of this, [they maintain] that at his baptism the Holy Spirit as a dove came down—that is, the Logos of the mother above, [I mean Sophia]—and became [a voice] to the animal [man], and raised him from the dead. This, he says, is what has been declared: "He who raised Christ from the dead will also quicken your mortal and natural bodies."[1] For loam has come under a curse; "for," says he, "dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return."[2] The Orientals, on the other hand, of whom is Axionicus[3] and Bardesianes,[4] assert that the body of the Saviour was spiritual; for there came upon Mary the Holy Spirit—that is, Sophia and the power of the highest. This is the creative art, [and was vouchsafed] in order that what was given to Mary by the Spirit might be fashioned.

Chapter xxxi.

Further Doctrines of Valentinus respecting the Æons—Reasons for the Incarnation.

Let, then, those [heretics] pursue these inquiries among themselves, [and let others do so likewise,] if it should prove agreeable to anybody else to investigate [such points. Valentinus] subjoins, however, the following statement: That the trespasses appertaining to the Æons within [the Pleroma]

[1] Rom. viii. 11, 12. [2] Gen. iii. 19.

[3] Axionicus is mentioned by Tertullian only (see Tertullian, *Contr. Valent.* c. iv.).

[4] Bardesianes (or Ardesianes, as Miller's text has it) is evidently the same with Bardesanes, mentioned by Eusebius and St. Jerome.

had been corrected; and likewise had been rectified the trespasses appertaining to the Ogdoad, [that is,] Sophia, outside [the Pleroma]; and also [the trespasses] appertaining to the Hebdomad [had been rectified]. For the Demiurge had been taught by Sophia that He is not Himself God alone, as He imagined, and that except Himself there is not another [Deity]. But when taught by Sophia, He was made to recognise the superior [Deity]. For He was instructed[1] by her, and initiated and indoctrinated into the great mystery of the Father and of the Æons, and divulged this to none. This is, as he says, what [God] declares to Moses: "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; and my name I have not announced to them;"[2] that is, I have not declared the mystery, nor explained who is God, but I have preserved the mystery which I have heard from Sophia in secrecy with myself. When, then, the trespasses of those above had been rectified, it was necessary, according to the same consequence, that the [transgressions] here likewise should obtain rectification. On this account Jesus the Saviour was born of Mary, that he might rectify [the trespasses committed] here; as the Christ who, having been projected additionally from above by Nous and Aletheia, had corrected the passions of Sophia—that is, the abortion [who was] outside [the Pleroma]. And, again, the Saviour who was born of Mary came to rectify the passions[3] of the soul. There are therefore, according to these [heretics], three Christs: [the first the] one additionally projected by Nous and Aletheia, along with the Holy Spirit; and [the second] the "Joint Fruit of the Pleroma," spouse of Sophia, who was outside [the Pleroma]. And she herself is likewise styled Holy Spirit, but one inferior to the first [projection]. And the third [Christ is] He who was born of Mary for the restoration of this world of ours.

[1] κατηχήθη. Miller's text has κατήχθη, which is properly corrected by Bunsen into the word as translated above

[2] Ex. vi. 2, 3.

[3] Or, "the multitudes."

Chapter xxxii.

Valentinus convicted of plagiarisms from Plato.

I think that the heresy of Valentinus, which is of Pythagorean [origin], has been sufficiently, indeed more than sufficiently, delineated. It therefore seems also expedient, that having explained his opinions, we should desist from [further] refutation [of his system]. Plato, then, in expounding mysteries concerning the universe, writes to Dionysius expressing himself after some such manner[1] as this: "I must speak to you by riddles,[2] in order that if the letter may meet with any accident in its leaves by either sea or land, he who reads [what falls into his hands] may not understand it. For so it is. All things are about the King of all, and on his account are all things, and he is cause of all the glorious [objects of creation]. The second is about the second, and the third about the third. But pertaining to the King there is none of those things of which I have spoken. But after this the soul earnestly desires to learn what sort these are, looking upon those things that are akin to itself, and not one of these is [in itself] sufficient. This is, O son of Dionysius and Doris, the question [of yours] which is a cause of all evil things. Nay, but rather the solicitude concerning this is innate in the soul; and if one does not remove this, he will never really attain truth.[3] But what is astonishing in this matter, listen. For there are men who have heard these things—[men] furnished with capacities for learning, and furnished with capacities of memory, and persons who altogether in every way are endued with an aptitude for investigation with a view to inference. [These are] at present aged speculators.[4] And they assert that opinions which at one time were credible

[1] Cruice thinks that the following extract from Plato's epistles has been added by a second hand.

[2] There are some verbal diversities between the texts of Plato and Hippolytus, which a reference will show (see Plat. *Epist.* t. ix. p. 76, ed. Bekker).

[3] Some forty lines that follow in Plato's letter are omitted here.

[4] Here likewise there is another deficiency as compared with the original letter.

are now incredible, and that things once incredible are now the contrary. While, therefore, turning the eye of examination towards these [inquiries], exercise caution, lest at any time you should have reason to repent in regard of those things should they happen in a manner unbecoming to your dignity. On this account I have written nothing concerning these [points]; nor is there any treatise of Plato's [upon them], nor ever shall there be. The observations, however, now made are those of Socrates, conspicuous for virtue even while he was a young man."

Valentinus, falling in with these [remarks], has made a fundamental principle in his system "the King of all," whom Plato mentioned, and whom this heretic styles Pater, and Bythos, and Proarche[1] over the rest of the Æons. And when Plato uses the words, "what is second about things that are second," Valentinus supposes to be second all the Æons that are within the limit [of the Pleroma, as well as] the limit [itself]. And when Plato uses the words, "what is third about what is third," he has [constituted as third] the entire of the arrangement [existing] outside the limit[2] and the Pleroma. And Valentinus has elucidated this [arrangement] very succinctly, in a psalm commencing from below, not as Plato does, from above, expressing himself thus: "I behold[3] all things suspended in air by spirit, and I perceive

[1] Miller's text is, *καὶ πᾶσι γῆν*, etc. In the German and French edition of Hippolytus we have, instead of this, *καὶ Προαρχὴν*. The latter word is introduced on the authority of Epiphanius and Theodoret. Bernays proposes *Σιγὴν*, and Scott *Πλάστην*. The Abbe Cruice considers *Πλάστην* an incongruous word as applied to the creation of spiritual beings.

[2] The word "limit" occurs twice in this sentence, and Bunsen alters the second into "Pleroma," so that the words may be rendered thus: "Valentinus supposes to be second all the Æons that are within the Pleroma."

[3] This is a Gnostic hymn, and is arranged metrically by Cruice, of which the following is a translation:

All things whirled on by spirit I see,
Flesh from soul depending,
And soul from air forth flashing,
And air from æther hanging,
And fruits from Bythus streaming,
And from womb the infant growing.

all things wafted by spirit; the flesh [I see] suspended from soul, but the soul shining out from air, and air depending from æther, and fruits produced from Bythus, and the fœtus borne from the womb." Thus [Valentinus] formed his opinion on such [points]. Flesh, according to these [heretics], is matter which is suspended from the soul of the Demiurge. And soul shines out from air; that is, the Demiurge emerges from the spirit, [which is] outside the Pleroma. But air springs forth from æther; that is, Sophia, which is outside [the Pleroma, is projected from the Pleroma] which is within the limit, and [from] the entire Pleroma [generally]. And from Bythos fruits are produced; [that is,] the entire projection of the Æons is made from the Father. The opinions, then, advanced by Valentinus have been sufficiently declared. It remains for us to explain the tenets of those who have emanated from his school, though each adherent [of Valentinus] entertains different opinions.[1]

Chapter xxxiii.

Secundus' System of Æons—Epiphanes—Ptolemæus.

A certain [heretic] Secundus,[2] born about the same time with Ptolemæus, expresses himself thus: [he says] that there is a right tetrad and a left tetrad,—namely, light and darkness. And he affirms that the power which withdrew and laboured under deficiency, was not produced from the thirty Æons, but from the fruits of these. Some other [heretic], however—Epiphanes, a teacher among them—expresses himself thus: "The earliest originating principle was inconceivable, ineffable, and unnameable;" and he calls this Monotes. And [he maintains] that there co-exists with

[1] The text here is corrupt, but the above rendering follows the Abbe Cruice's version. Bunsen's emendation would, however, seem untenable.

[2] Concerning Secundus and Epiphanes, see Irenæus, i. 11; Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* i. 5–9; Epiphanius, xxxii. 1, 3, 4; Tertullian, *Adv. Valent.* c. xxxviii.; and St. Augustine, *Hær.* xi. Hippolytus, in his remarks on Secundus and Epiphanes, borrows from St. Irenæus.

this [principle] a power which he denominates Henotes. This Henotes and this Monotes, not by projection [from themselves], sent forth a principle [that should preside] over all intelligibles; [and this was] both unbegotten and invisible, and he styles it a Monad. "With this power co-exists a power of the same essence, which very [power] I call Unity. These four powers sent forth the remainder of the projections of the Æons." But others, again, denominate the chief and originating Ogdoad, [which is] fourth [and] invisible, by the following names: first, Proarche; next, Anennoetus; third, Arrhetus; and fourth, Aoratus. And that from the first, Proarche, was projected by a first and fifth place, Arche; and from Anennoetus, by a second and sixth place, Acataleptus; and from Arrhetus, by a third and seventh place, Anonomastus; and from Aoratus, Agennetus, a complement of the first Ogdoad. They wish that these powers should exist before Bythus and Sige. Concerning, however, Bythus himself, there are many different opinions. Some affirm him to be unwedded, neither male nor female; but others [maintain] that Sige, who is a female, is present with him, and that this constitutes the first conjugal union.

But the followers of Ptolemæus[1] assert that [Bythus] has two spouses, which they call likewise dispositions, viz. Ennoia and Thelesis [conception and volition]. For first the notion was conceived of projecting anything; next followed, as they say, the will to do so. Wherefore also these two dispositions and powers—namely, Ennoia and Thelesis—being, as it were, mingled one with the other, there ensued a projection of Monogenes and Aletheia by means of a conjugal union. And the consequence was, that visible types and images of those two dispositions of the Father came forth from the invisible [Æons], viz. from Thelema, Nous, and from Ennoia, Aletheia. And on this account the image of the subsequently generated Thelema is [that of a] male; but [the image] of the un-

[1] Concerning Ptolemæus, see Irenæus, i. 12; Tertullian, *De Præscript.* c. xlix.; and *Advers. Valent.* c. viii.; Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxxiii. 3–7; and Theodoret, *Hæret. fab.* i. 8.

begotten Ennoia is [that of a] female, since volition is, as it were, a power of conception. For conception always cherished the idea of a projection, yet was not of itself at least able to project itself, but cherished the idea [of doing so]. When, however, the power of volition [would be present], then it projects the idea which had been conceived.

Chapter xxxiv.

System of Marcus—a mere Impostor—his wicked Devices upon the Eucharistic Cup.

A certain other teacher among them, Marcus,[1] an adept in sorcery, carrying on operations[2] partly by sleight of hand and partly by demons, deceived many from time to time. This [heretic] alleged that there resided in him the mightiest power from invisible and unnameable places. And very often, taking the Cup, as if offering up the Eucharistic prayer, and prolonging to a greater length than usual the word of invocation, he would cause the appearance of a purple, and sometimes of a red mixture, so that his dupes imagined that a certain Grace descended and communicated to the potion a blood-red potency. The knave, however, at that time succeeded in escaping detection from many; but now, being convicted [of the imposture], he will be forced to desist from it. For, infusing secretly into the mixture some drug that possessed the power of imparting such a colour [as that alluded to above], uttering for a considerable time nonsensical expressions, he was in the habit of waiting, [in expectation] that the [drug], obtaining a supply of moisture, might be dissolved, and being intermingled with the potion, might impart its colour to it. The drugs, however, that possess the

[1] Concerning Marcus, see Irenæus, i. 12–18; Tertullian, *Præscript.* c. 1.; Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxxiv.; Theodoret, *Hæret. fab.* i. 9; St. Augustine, *Hær.* c. xiv.; and St. Jerome's 29th Epistle.

[2] ἐνεργῶν: Bunsen reads ὀρῶν, which has the same meaning. Cruice reads αἰωρῶν, but makes no attempt at translation. Miller's reading is ὠώρων, which is obviously corrupt, but for which ὄλων has been suggested, and with good show of reason.

quality of furnishing this effect, we have previously mentioned in the book on magicians. And here we have taken occasion to explain how they make dupes of many, and thoroughly ruin them. And if it should prove agreeable to them to apply their attention with greater accuracy to the statement made by us, they will become aware of the deceit of Marcus.

Chapter XXXV.

Further Acts of Jugglery on the part of Marcus.

And this [Marcus], infusing [the aforesaid] mixture into a smaller cup, was in the habit of delivering it to a woman to offer up the Eucharistic prayer, while he himself stood by, and held [in his hand] another empty [chalice] larger than that. And after his female dupe had pronounced the sentence of Consecration,[1] having received [the cup from her], he proceeded to infuse [its contents] into the larger [chalice], and pouring them frequently from one cup to the other, was accustomed at the same time to utter the following invocation: "Grant that the inconceivable and ineffable Grace which existed prior to the universe, may fill thine inner man, and make to abound in thee the knowledge of this [grace], as She disseminates the seed of the mustard-tree upon the good soil." And simultaneously pronouncing some such words as these, and astonishing both his female dupe and those that are present, he was regarded as one performing a miracle; while the larger was being filled from the smaller chalice, in such a way as that [the contents], being superabundant, flowed over. And the contrivance of this [juggler] we have likewise explained in the aforesaid [fourth] book, where we have proved that very many drugs, when mingled in this way with liquid substances, are endued with the quality of yielding augmentation, more particularly when diluted in wine. Now, when [one of these impostors] previously smears, in a clandestine manner, an empty cup with any one of these drugs, and shows it [to the spectators] as if it contained nothing, by infusing into it [the contents] from the other cup, and pouring them back again

[1] Or, "had given thanks."

the drug, as it is of a flatulent nature, is dissolved[1] by being blended with the moist substance. And the effect of this was, that a superabundance of the mixture ensued, and was so far augmented, that what was infused was put in motion, such being the nature of the drug. And if one stow away [the chalice] when it has been filled, [what has been poured into it] will after no long time return to its natural dimensions, inasmuch as the potency of the drug becomes extinct by reason of the continuance of moisture. Wherefore he was in the habit of hurriedly presenting the cup to those present, to drink; but they, horrified at the same time, and eager [to taste the contents of the cup], proceeded to drink [the mixture], as if it were something divine, and devised by the Deity.

Chapter xxxvi.

The heretical Practices of the Marcites in regard of Baptism.

Such and other [tricks] this impostor attempted to perform. And so it was that he was magnified by his dupes, and sometimes he was supposed to utter predictions. But sometimes he tried to make others [prophesy], partly by demons carrying on these operations, and partly by practising sleight of hand, as we have previously stated. Hoodwinking therefore multitudes, he led on [into enormities] many [dupes] of this description who had become his disciples, by teaching them that they were prone, no doubt, to sin, but beyond the reach of danger, from the fact of their belonging to the perfect power, and of their being participators in the inconceivable potency. And subsequent to the [first] baptism, to these they promise another, which they call Redemption. And by this [other baptism] they wickedly subvert those that remain with them in expectation of redemption, as if persons, after they had once been baptized, could again obtain remission. Now, it is by means of such knavery as this that they seem to retain their hearers. And when they consider that these have been tested, and are able to keep [secret the mysteries]

[1] ἀναλυομένου: some read ἀναδυομένου, which is obviously untenable.

committed unto them, they then admit them to this [baptism]. They, however, do not rest satisfied with this alone, but promise [their votaries] some other [boon] for the purpose of confirming them in hope, in order that they may be inseparable [adherents of their sect]. For they utter something in an inexpressible [tone of] voice, after having laid hands on him who is receiving the redemption. And they allege that they could not easily declare [to another] what is thus spoken unless one were highly tested, or one were at the hour of death, [when] the bishop comes and whispers [it] into the [expiring one's] ear. And this knavish device [is undertaken] for the purpose of securing the constant attendance upon the bishop of [Marcus'] disciples, as individuals eagerly panting to learn what that may be which is spoken at the last, by [the knowledge of] which the learner will be advanced to the rank of those admitted into the higher mysteries. And in regard of these I have maintained a silence for this reason, lest at any time one should suppose that I was guilty of disparaging these [heretics]. For this does not come within the scope of our present work, only so far as it may contribute to prove from what source [the heretics] have derived the standing-point from which they have taken occasion to introduce the opinions advanced by them.

Chapter XXXVII.

Marcus' System explained by Irenæus—Marcus' Vision—the Vision of Valentinus revealing to him his System.

For also the blessed presbyter Irenæus, having approached the subject of a refutation in a more unconstrained spirit, has explained such washings and redemptions, stating more in the way of a rough digest[1] what are their practices. [And

[1] Hippolytus has already employed this word, ἀδρομέστερον, in the *Proœmium*. It literally means, of strong or compact parts. Hippolytus, however, uses it in contrast to the expression λεπτομέρης, in reference to his *Summary of Heresies*. Bunsen thinks that Hippolytus means to say that Irenæus expressed himself rather too strongly, and that the Marcosians, on meeting with Irenæus' assertions, indignantly repudiated

it appears that some of the Marcosians,] on meeting with [Irenæus' work], deny that they have so received [the secret word just alluded to], but they have learned that always they should deny. Wherefore our anxiety has been more accurately to investigate, and to discover minutely what are the [instructions] which they deliver in the case of the first bath, styling it by some such name; and in the case of the second, which they denominate Redemption. But not even has this secret of theirs escaped [our scrutiny]. For these opinions, however, we consent to pardon Valentinus and his school.

But Marcus, imitating his teacher, himself also feigns a vision, imagining that in this way he would be magnified. For Valentinus likewise alleges that he had seen an infant child lately born; and questioning [this child], he proceeded to inquire who it might be. And [the child] replied, saying that he himself is the Logos, and then subjoined a sort of tragic legend; and out of this [Valentinus] wishes the heresy attempted by him to consist. Marcus, making a similar attempt[1] with this [heretic], asserts that the Tetrad came to him in the form of a woman (since the world could not bear, he says, the male [form] of this Tetrad), and that she revealed herself who she was, and explained to this [Marcus] alone the generation of the universe, which she never had revealed to any, either of gods or of men, expressing herself after this mode: When first the self-existent Father, He who is inconceivable and without substance, He who is neither male nor female, willed that His own ineffability should become realized in something spoken, and that His invisibility should become realized in form, He opened His mouth, and sent forth similar to Himself a Logos. And this [Logos] stood by Him, and showed unto Him who he was, viz. that

them. Dr. Wordsworth translates ἀδρομερῶς (in the *Proœmium*), "with rude generality,"—a rendering scarcely in keeping with the passage above.

[1] The largest extract from Irenæus is that which follows—the explanation of the heresy of Marcus. From this to the end of book vi. occurs in Irenæus likewise. Hippolytus' text does not always accurately correspond with that of his master. The divergence, however, is inconsiderable, and may sometimes be traceable to the error of the transcriber.

he himself had been manifested as a [realization in] form of the Invisible One. And the pronunciation of the name was of the following description. He was accustomed to utter the first word of the name itself, which was Arche, and the syllable of this was [composed] of four[1] letters. Then he subjoined the second [syllable], and this was also [composed] of four letters. Next he uttered the third [syllable], which was [composed] of ten letters; and he uttered the fourth [syllable], and this was [composed] of twelve letters. Then ensued the pronunciation of the entire name, [composed] of thirty letters, but of four syllables. And each of the elements had its own peculiar letters, and its own peculiar form, and its own peculiar pronunciation, as well as figures and images. And not one of these was there that beholds the form of that [letter] of which this was an element. And of course none of them could know the pronunciation of the [letter] next to this, but [only] as he himself pronounces it, [and that in such a way] as that, in pronouncing the whole [word], he supposed that he was uttering the entire [name]. For each of these [elements], being part of the entire [name], he denominates [according to] its own peculiar sound, as if the whole [of the word]. And he does not intermit sounding until he arrived at the last letter of the last element, and uttered it in a single articulation. Then he said, that the restoration of the entire ensued when all the [elements], coming down into the one letter, sounded one and the same pronunciation, and an image of the pronunciation he supposed to exist when we simultaneously utter the word *Amen*. And that these sounds are those which gave form to the insubstantial and unbegotten Æon, and that those forms are what the Lord declared to be angels—the [forms] that uninterruptedly behold the face of the Father.

[1] Hippolytus uses two words to signify letters, στοιχεῖον and γράμμα. The former strictly means an articulate sound as the basis of language or of written words, and the latter the sound itself when represented by a particular symbol or sign.

Chapter xxxviii.

Marcus' System of Letters.

But the generic and expressed names of the elements he called Æons, and Logoi, and Roots, and Seeds, and Pleromas, and Fruits. [And he maintains] that every one of these, and what was peculiar to each, is perceived as being contained in the name of "Ecclesia." And the final letter of the last element sent forth its own peculiar articulation. And the sound of this [letter] came forth and produced, in accordance with images of the elements, its own peculiar elements. And from these he says that things existing here were garnished, and the things antecedent to these were produced. The letter itself certainly, of which the sound was concomitant with the sound below, he says, was received up by its own syllable into the complement of the entire [name]; but that the sound, as if cast outside, remained below. And that the element itself, from which the letter along with its own pronunciation descended below, he says, is [composed] of thirty letters, and that each one of the thirty letters contains in itself other letters, by means of which the title of the letter is named. And again, that the other [letters] are named by different letters, and the rest by different [ones still]. So that by writing down the letters individually, the number would eventuate in infinity. In this way one may more clearly understand what is spoken. The element Delta, [he says,] has five letters in itself, [viz.] Delta, and Epsilon, and Lambda, and Tau, and Alpha; and these very letters are [written] by means of other letters. If, therefore, the entire substance of the Delta eventuates in infinity, [and if] different letters invariably produce different letters, and succeed one another, by how much greater than that element is the more enormous sea[1] of the letters? And if one letter is thus infinite, behold the entire name's depth of the letters out of which the patient industry, nay, rather [I should say,] the vain toil of Marcus wishes that the Progenitor [of things]

[1] This is Duncker's emendation, suggested by Irenæus' text. Miller reads τὸν τόπον, which yields scarcely any meaning.

should consist! Wherefore also [he maintains] that the Father, Who knew that He was inseparable from Himself, gave [this depth] to the elements, which he likewise denominates Æons. And he uttered aloud to each one of them its own peculiar pronunciation, from the fact that one could not pronounce the entire.

Chapter XXXIX.

The Quaternion exhibits "Truth."

And [Marcus alleged] that the Quaternion, after having explained these things, spoke as follows: "Now, I wish also to exhibit to you Truth herself, for I have brought her down from the mansions above, in order that you may behold her naked, and become acquainted with her beauty; nay, also that you may hear her speak, and may marvel at her wisdom. Observe," says the Quaternion, "then, first, the head above, Alpha [and long] O; the neck, B and P[si]; shoulders, along with hands, G and C[hi]; breasts, Delta and P[hi]; diaphragm,[1] Eu; belly, Z and T; *pudenda*, Eta and S; thighs, T[h] and R; knees, Ip; calves, Ko; ankles, Lx[si]; feet, M and N." This is the body of Truth, according to Marcus. This is the figure of the element; this the character of the letter. And he styles this element Man, and affirms it to be the source of every word, and the originating principle of every sound, and the realization in speech of everything that is ineffable, and a mouth of taciturn silence. And this is the body of [Truth] herself. But do you, raising aloft the conceiving power of the understanding, hear from the mouths of Truth [of] the Logos, who is Self-generator[2] and Progenitor.[3]

[1] Hippolytus' text has been here corrected from that of Irenæus.

[2] This is a correction from Progenitor, on the authority of Irenæus and Epiphanius.

[3] Προπάτορα: Irenæus reads Πατρόδορα, which is adopted by Schneidewin, and translated *patrium*.

Chapter xl.

The Name of Christ Jesus.

But, after uttering these words, [Marcus details] that Truth, gazing upon him, and opening her mouth, spoke the discourse [just alluded to]. And [he tells us] that the discourse became a name, and that the name was that which we know and utter, viz. Christ Jesus, and that as soon as she had named this [name] she remained silent. While Marcus, however, was expecting that she was about to say more, the Quaternion, again advancing into the midst, speaks as follows: "Thou didst regard as contemptible[1] this discourse which you have heard from the mouth of Truth. And yet this which you know and seem long since to possess is not the name; for you have merely the sound of it, but are ignorant of the power. For Jesus is a remarkable name, having six letters, invoked[2] by all belonging to the called [of Christ]; whereas the other [name, that is, Christ], consists of many parts, and is among the [five] Æons of the Pleroma. [This name] is of another form and a different type, and is recognised by those existences who are connate with him, and whose magnitudes subsist with him continually.

Chapter xli.

Marcus' mystic Interpretation of the Alphabet.

Know, [therefore,] that these letters which with you are [reckoned at] twenty-four, are emanations from the three powers, and are representative[3] of those [powers] which embrace even the entire number of the elements. For suppose that there are some letters that are mute—nine of them—of Pater and Aletheia, from the fact that these are mute—that is, ineffable and unutterable. And [again, assume] that there are other [letters that are] semi-vowels—eight of them—of

[1] The reading is doubtful. The translator adopts Scott's emendation.

[2] Irenæus has "known."

[3] εἰκονικὰς. This is Irenæus' reading. Miller has εἰκόνας (representations).

the Logos and of Zoe, from the fact that these are intermediate between consonants and vowels, and receive the emanation[1] of the [letters] above them, but the reflux of those below them.[2] And [likewise take for granted] that there are vowels—and these are seven—of Anthropos and Ecclesia, inasmuch as the voice of Anthropos proceeded forth, and imparted form to the [objects of the] universe. For the sound of the voice produced figure, and invested them with it. From this it follows that there are Logos and Zoe, which have eight [semi-vowels]; and Anthropos and Ecclesia, which have seven [vowels]; and Pater and Aletheia, which have nine [mutes]. But from the fact that Logos wanted[3] [one of being an ogdoad], he who is in the Father was removed [from his seat on God's right hand], and came down [to earth]. And he was sent forth [by the Father] to him from whom he was separated, for the rectification of actions that had been committed. [And his descent took place] in order that the unifying process, which is inherent in Agathos, of the Pleromas might produce in all the single power that emanates from all. And thus he who is of the seven [vowels] acquired the power of the eight[4] [semi-vowels]; and there were produced three *topoi*, corresponding with the [three] numbers [nine, seven, and eight],—[these *topoi*] being ogdoads. And these three being added one to the other, exhibited the number of the twenty-four [letters]. And [he maintains], of course, that the three elements (which he himself affirms to be [allied] with the three powers by conjugal union, and which [by this state of duality] become six, and from which have emanated the twenty-four elements), being rendered fourfold by the Quaternion's ineffable word, produce the same number [twenty-four] with these. And these,

[1] *ἀπόῤῥοιαν*: some read *ἀπορίαν*, which is obviously erroneous.

[2] *ὑπ' αὐτά*: Irenæus reads *ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν*, and Massuet *ὑπένερθεν*.

[3] The deficiency consisted in there not being three ogdoads. The sum total was twenty-four, but there was only one ogdoad—Logos and Zoe. The other two—Pater and Aletheia, and Anthropos and Ecclesia—had one above and one below an ogdoad.

[4] *τῶν ὀκτὼ* has been substituted for *τῷ νοητῷ*, an obviously corrupt reading. The correction is supplied by Irenæus.

he says, belong to Anonomastus. And [he asserts] that these are conveyed by the six powers into a similarity with Aoratus. And [he says] that there are six double letters of these elements, images of images, which, being reckoned along with the twenty-four letters, produce, by an analogical power, the number thirty.

Chapter xlii.

His System applied to explain our Lord's Life and Death.

And he says, as the result of this computation and that proportion,[1] that in the similitude of an image He appeared Who after the six days Himself ascended the mountain a fourth person, and became the sixth.[2] And [he asserts] that He [likewise] descended and was detained by the Hebdomad, and thus became an illustrious Ogdoad. And He contains in Himself of the elements the entire number which He manifested, as He came to His baptism. [And the symbol of manifestation was] the descent of the dove, which is O[mega] and Alpha, and which by the number manifested [by these is] 801.[3] And for this reason [he maintains] that Moses says that

[1] Or, "economy."

[2] Christ went up with the three apostles, and was therefore the fourth Himself; by the presence of Moses and Elias, He became the sixth: Matt. xvii. 1; Mark ix. 2.

[3] The Greek word for dove is περίστερα, the letters of which represent 801, as may be seen thus:

π =	80
ε =	5
ρ =	100
ι =	10
σ =	200
τ =	300
ε =	5
ρ =	100
α =	1
	801

This, therefore, is equipollent with Alpha and Omega, as α is equal to 1, and ω to 800.

man was created on the sixth day. And [he asserts] that the dispensation of suffering [took place] on the sixth day, which is the preparation; [and so it was] that on this [day] appeared the last man for the regeneration of the first man. And that the beginning and end of this dispensation is the sixth hour, at which He was nailed to the [accursed] tree. For [he says] that perfect Nous, knowing the sixfold number to be possessed of the power of production and regeneration, manifested to the sons of light the regeneration that had been introduced into this number by that illustrious one who had appeared. Whence also he says that the double letters[1] involve the remarkable number. For the illustrious number, being intermingled with the twenty-four elements, produced the name [consisting] of the thirty letters.

Chapter XLIII.

Letters, Symbols of the Heavens.

He has, however, employed the instrumentality of the aggregate of the seven numbers, in order that the result of the self-devised [counsel][2] might be manifested. Understand, he says, for the present, that remarkable number to be Him who was formed by the illustrious one, and who was, as it were, divided, and remained outside. And He, through both His Own power and wisdom, by means of the projection of Himself, imparted, in imitation of the seven powers,[3] animation to this world, so as to make it consist of seven powers, and constituted [this world] the soul of the visible universe. And therefore this one has resorted to such an operation as what was spontaneously undertaken by Himself; and these minister,[4] inasmuch as they are imitations of things inimitable, unto the intelligence of the Mother. And the first heaven sounds Alpha,[5] and the one after that E[psilon], and

[1] γράμματα: some read πράγματα. [2] Supplied from Irenæus.

[3] This should be altered into Hebdomad if we follow Irenæus.

[4] τάδε διακονεῖ. This is the text of Irenæus, and corrects the common reading, τὰ δι' εἰκόνων.

[5] φθέγγεται (Irenæus). The common reading is φαίνεται.

the third Eta, and the fourth, even that in the midst of the seven [vowels, enunciates] the power of Iota, and the fifth of O[micron], and the sixth of U[psilon], and the seventh and fourth from the central[1] one, O[mega]. And all the powers, when they are connected together in one, emit a sound, and glorify that [Being] from Whom they have been projected. And the glory of that sound is transmitted upwards to the Progenitor. And furthermore, he says that the sound of this ascription of glory being conveyed to the earth, became a creator and producer of terrestrial objects. And [he maintains] that the proof of this [may be drawn] from the case of infants recently born, whose soul, simultaneously with exit from the womb, utters similarly this sound of each one of the elements. As, then, he says, the seven powers glorify the Logos, so also does the sorrowing soul in babes [magnify Him].[2] And on account of this, he says, David likewise has declared, "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise."[3] And again, "The heavens declare the glory of God."[4] When,[5] however, the soul is involved in hardships, it utters no other exclamation than the O[mega], inasmuch as it is afflicted in order that the soul above, becoming aware of what is akin to herself [below], may send down one to help this [earthly soul].

Chapter xliv.

Respecting the Generation of the Twenty-four Letters.

And so far for these points. Respecting, however, the generation of the twenty-four elements, he expresses himself thus: that Henotes co-exists with Monotes, and that from these issue two projections, viz. Monas and Hen, and that

[1] *μέσου*: in Irenæus we have *μέρους*.

[2] Irenæus has the sentence thus: "so also the soul in babes, lamenting and bewailing Marcus, glorifies him."

[3] Ps. viii. 2.

[4] Ps. xix. 1.

[5] Hippolytus here omits some passages which are to be found in Irenæus.

these being added together[1] become four, for twice two are four. And again, the two and four [projections] being added together, manifested the number six; and these six made fourfold, produce the twenty-four forms.[2] And these are the names of the first tetrad, and they are understood as Holy of Holies, and cannot be expressed, and they are recognised by the Son alone. These the Father knows which they are. Those names which with Him are pronounced in silence and with faith, are Arrhetus and Sige, Pater and Aletheia. And of this tetrad the entire number is [that] of twenty-four letters. For Arrhetus has seven elements, Sige five, and Pater five, and Aletheia seven.[3] And in like manner also [is it with] the second tetrad; [for] Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Ecclesia, exhibited the same number of elements. And [he says] that the expressed name—[that is, Jesus][4]—of the Saviour consists of six letters, but that his ineffable[5] name, according to the number of the letters, one by one,[6] consists of twenty-four elements, but Christ a Son of twelve. And [he says] that the ineffable [name] in Christ consists of thirty letters, and this exists, according to the letters which are in Him, the elements being counted one by one. For the [name] Christ[7] consists of eight elements; for Chi[8] consists of three, and R[ho] of two, and EI of two, and I[ota] of four, S[igma] of five, and T[au]

[1] Literally, "being twice two:" some for *οὖσαι* read *οὐσίαι*. Irenæus has *ἐπὶ δύο οὖσαι*, *i.e.* "which being [added] into two."

[2] Hippolytus has only the word "twenty-four," to which Schneidewin supplies "letters," and Irenæus "forms," as given above. Hippolytus likewise omits the word "produced," which Irenæus supplies. The text of the latter is *τὰς εἰκοσιτέσσαρας ἀπεκύησαν μορφάς*.

[3] Irenæus adds, "which being added together, I mean the twice five and twice seven, complete the number of the twenty-four [forms]."

[4] The words within brackets had fallen into a wrong part of the sentence, and are placed here by Schneidewin.

[5] This is a correction for "expressed" from Irenæus. Marcus observes the distinction afterwards.

[6] *κατὰ ἓν γραμμάτων*. The MS. has *ἐγγραμάτων*. Irenæus omits these words.

[7] This entire sentence is wanting in Irenæus.

[8] Corrected from Chri, which is in the MS.

of three, and OU of two, and San of three. Thus the ineffable name in Christ consists, they allege, of thirty letters. And they assert that for this reason He utters the words, "I am Alpha and Omega," displaying the dove, which [symbolically] has this number, which is eight hundred and one.[1]

Chapter xlv.

Why Jesus is called Alpha.

Now Jesus possesses this ineffable generation. For from the mother of the universe, I mean the first tetrad, proceeded forth, in the manner of a daughter, the second tetrad. And it became an ogdoad, from which proceeded forth the decade; and thus was produced ten, and next eighteen. The decade, therefore, coming in along with the ogdoad, and rendering it tenfold, produced the number eighty; and again making eighty tenfold, generated the number eight hundred.[2] And so it is that the entire number of letters that proceeded forth from ogdoad into decade is eight hundred and eighty-eight, which is Jesus; for the name Jesus, according to the number in letters, is eight hundred and eighty-eight. Now likewise the Greek alphabet has eight monads and eight decades, and eight hecatontads; and these exhibit the calculated sum of eight hundred and eighty-eight, that is, Jesus, who consists of all numbers. And that on this account he is called Alpha [and Omega], indicating his generation [to be] from all.[3]

[1] Irenæus has the passage thus: "And for this reason he says that he is Alpha and Omega, that he may manifest the dove, inasmuch as this bird [symbolically] involves this number [801]." (See a previous note in chap. xlii.)

[2] Part of this sentence is supplied from Irenæus.

[3] Hippolytus here omits the following sentence found in Irenæus: "And again thus—of the first quarternion, when added into itself, in accordance with a progression of number, appeared the number ten, and so forth."

Chapter xlvi.

Marcus' Account of the Birth and Life of our Lord.

But concerning the creation of this [Jesus], he expresses himself thus: That powers emanating from the second tetrad fashioned Jesus, who appeared on earth, and that the angel Gabriel[1] filled the place of the Logos, and the Holy Spirit that of Zoe, and the "Power of the Highest"[2] that of Anthropos, and the Virgin that of Ecclesia.[3] And so it was, in Marcus' system, that the man [who appeared] in accordance with the dispensation was born through Mary.[4] And when he came to the water, [he says] that he descended like a dove upon him who had ascended above and filled the twelfth number. And in him resides the seed of these, that is, such as are sown along with him, and that descend with [him], and ascend with [him]. And that this power which descended upon him, he says, is the seed of the Pleroma, which contains in itself both the Father and the Son, and the unnameable power of Sige, which is recognised through these and all the Æons. And that this [seed] is the spirit which is in Him and spoke in Him through the mouth of the Son, the confession of himself as Son of man, and of his being one who would manifest the Father; [and that] when this spirit came down upon Jesus, he was united with him. The Saviour, who was of the dispensation, he says, destroyed death, whereas he made known [as] the Father Christ [Jesus]. He says that Jesus, therefore, is the name of the man of the dispensation, and that it has been set forth for the assimilation and formation of Anthropos, who was about to descend upon him; and that when he had received him unto himself, he retained possession of him. And [he says] that he was Anthropos, [that] he [was] Logos, [that]

[1] Luke i. 26–38.

[2] Or, "of the Son," an obvious mistake.

[3] Irenæus has, "And the Virgin exhibited the place of Ecclesia."

[4] Irenæus adds, "whom the Father of the universe selected, for passage through the womb, by means of the Logos, for recognition of Himself."

he [was] Pater, and Arrhetus, and Sige, and Aletheia, and Ecclesia, and Zoe.

Chapter xlvii.

The System of Marcus shown to be that of Pythagoras, by Quotations from the Writings of Marcus' Followers.

I trust, therefore, that as regards these doctrines it is obvious to all possessed of a sound mind, that [these tenets] are unauthoritative, and far removed from the knowledge that is in accordance with Religion, and are mere portions of astrological discovery, and the arithmetical art of the Pythagoreans. And this assertion, ye who are desirous of learning shall ascertain [to be true, by a reference to the previous books, where,] amongst other opinions elucidated by us, we have explained these doctrines likewise. In order, however, that we may prove it a more clear statement, viz. that these [Marcosians] are disciples not of Christ but of Pythagoras, I shall proceed to explain those opinions that have been derived [by these heretics] from Pythagoras concerning the meteoric [phenomena] of the stars[1] as far as it is possible [to do so] by an epitome.

Now the Pythagoreans make the following statements: that the universe consists of a Monad and Duad, and that by reckoning from a monad as far as four they thus generate a decade. And again,[2] a duad coming forth as far as the remarkable [letter],—for instance, two and four and six,—exhibited the [number] twelve. And again, if we reckon from the duad to the decade, thirty is produced; and in this are comprised the ogdoad, and decade, and dodecade. And therefore, on account of its having the remarkable [letter],

[1] Cruice thinks that for stars we should read "numbers;" but gives no explanation of the meaning of μετέωρα. This word, as applied to numbers, might refer to "the astrological phenomena" deducible by means of numerical calculations.

[2] A comparison of Hippolytus with Irenæus, as regards what follows, manifests many omissions in the former.

the dodecade has concomitant[1] with it a remarkable passion.[2] And for this reason [they maintain] that when an error had arisen respecting the twelfth number, the sheep skipped from the flock and wandered away;[3] for that the apostasy took place, they say, in like manner from the decade. And with a similar reference to the dodecade, they speak of the piece of money which, on losing, a woman, having lit a candle, searched for diligently. [And they make a similar application] of the loss [sustained] in the case of the one sheep out of the ninety and nine; and adding these one into the other, they give a fabulous account of numbers. And in this way, they affirm, when the eleven is multiplied into nine, that it produces the number ninety and nine; and on this account that it is said that the word Amen embraces the number ninety-nine. And in regard of another number they express themselves in this manner: that the letter Eta along with the remarkable one constitutes an ogdoad, as it is situated in the eighth place from Alpha. Then, again, computing the number of these elements without the remarkable [letter], and adding them together up to Eta, they exhibit the number thirty. For any one beginning from the Alpha[4] to the Eta will, after subtracting the remarkable [letter], discover the number of the elements to be the number thirty.

[1] Following Irenæus, the passage would be rendered thus: "And therefore, on account of its having the remarkable [letter] concomitant with it, they style the dodecade a remarkable passion." Massuet, in his *Annotations on Irenæus*, gives the following explanation of the above statement, which is made by Hippolytus likewise. From the twelfth number, by once abstracting the remarkable [number], which does not come into the order and number of the letters, eleven letters remain. Hence in the dodecade, the πάθος, or what elsewhere the heretics call the "Hysterema," is a defect of one letter. And this is a symbol of the defect or suffering which, upon the withdrawal of one Æon, happened unto the last dodecade of Æons.

[2] Hippolytus' statement is less copious and less clear than that of Irenæus, who explains the defect of the letter to be symbolical of an apostasy of one of the Æons, and that this one was a female.

[3] Luke xv. 4–10.

[4] Marcus' explanation of this, as furnished by Irenæus, is more copious than Hippolytus'.

Since, therefore, the number thirty is unified from the three powers; when multiplied thrice into itself it produced ninety, for thrice thirty is ninety, [and this triad when multiplied into itself produced nine.] In this way the Ogdoad brought forth the number ninety-nine from the first Ogdoad, and Decade, and Dodecade. And at one time they collect the number of this [trio] into an entire sum, and produce a triacontad; whereas at another time they subtract twelve, and reckon it at eleven. And in like manner, [they subtract] ten and make it nine. And connecting these one into the other, and multiplying them tenfold, they complete the number ninety-nine. Since, however, the twelfth Æon, having left the eleven [Æons above], and departing downwards, withdrew, they allege that even this is correlative [with the letters]. For the figure of the letters teaches [us as much]. For L is placed eleventh of the letters, and this L is the number thirty. And [they say] that this is placed according to an image of the dispensation above; since from Alpha, irrespective of the remarkable [letter], the number of the letters themselves, added together up to L, according to the augmentation of the letters with the L itself, produces the number ninety-nine. But that the L, situated in the eleventh [of the alphabet], came down to search after the number similar to itself, in order that it might fill up the twelfth number, and that when it was discovered it was filled up, is manifest from the shape itself of the letter. For Lambda, when it attained unto, as it were, the investigation of what is similar to itself, and when it found such and snatched it away, filled up the place of the twelfth, the letter M, which is composed of two Lambdas. And for this reason [it was] that these [adherents of Marcus], through their knowledge, avoid the place of the ninety-nine, that is, the Hysterema, a type of the left hand,[1]

[1] The allusion here seems to be to the habit among the ancients of employing the fingers for counting, those of the left hand being used for all numbers under 100, and those of the right for the numbers above it. To this custom the poet Juvenal alludes, when he says of Nestor:

"Atque suos jam dextera computat annos."

That is, that he was one hundred years old.

and follow after the one which, added to ninety-nine, they say was transferred to his own right hand.

Chapter xlviii.

Their Cosmogony framed according to these mystic Doctrines of Letters.

And by the Mother, they allege, were created first the four elements, which, they say, are fire, water, earth, air; and these have been projected as an image of the tetrad above; and reckoning the energies of these—for instance, as hot, cold, moist, dry—they assert that they accurately portray the Ogdoad. And next they compute ten powers thus. [There are, they say,] seven orbicular bodies, which they likewise call heavens. There is next a circle containing these within its compass, and this also they name an eighth heaven; and in addition to these, they affirm the existence of both a sun and moon. And these being ten in number, they say, are images of the invisible decade that [emanated] from Logos and Zoe. [They affirm,] however, that the dodecade is indicated by what is termed the zodiacal circle. For these twelve zodiacal signs, they say, most evidently shadowed forth[1] the daughter of Anthropos and Ecclesia, namely the Dodecade. And since, he says, the upper heaven has been united from an opposite direction to the revolutionary motion, which is most rapid, of the entire [of the signs]; and since [this heaven] within its cavity retards, and by its slowness counterpoises, the velocity of those [signs], so that in thirty years it accomplishes its circuit from sign to sign,—they therefore assert that this [heaven] is an image of Horos, who encircles the mother of these, who has thirty names. And, again, [they affirm] that the moon, which traverses the heaven in thirty days, by reason of [these] days portrays the number of the Æons. And [they say] that the sun, performing its circuit, and terminating its exact return to its first position in its orbit in twelve months, manifests the dodecade. And also [they say] that the days themselves, involving the measure of

[1] Or, "sketched out" (Irenæus).

twelve hours, constitute a type of the empty[1] dodecade; and that the circumference of the actual zodiacal circle consists of three hundred and sixty degrees, and that each zodiacal sign possesses thirty divisions. In this way, therefore, even by means of the circle, they maintain that the image is preserved[2] of the connection of the twelve with the thirty.[3] But, moreover, alleging that the earth was divided into twelve regions, and that according to each particular region it receives one power by the latter's being sent down from the heavens, and that it produces children corresponding in likeness[4] unto the power which transmitted [the likeness] by emanation; [for this reason] they assert that earth is a type of the Dodecade above.

Chapter xlix.

The Work of the Demiurge perishable.

And in addition to these [points, they lay down] that the Demiurge of the supernal Ogdoad, desirous of imitating the indefinite, and everlasting, and illimitable [one], and [the one] not subject to the condition of time; and [the Demiurge] not being able to represent the stability[5] and eternity of this [Ogdoad], on account of his being the fruit of the Hysterema, to this end appointed times, and seasons, and numbers, measuring many years in reference to the eternity of this [Ogdoad], thinking by the multitude of times to imitate its indefiniteness. And here they say, when Truth eluded his pursuit, that Falsehood followed close upon him; and that on account of this, when the times were fulfilled, his work underwent dissolution.

[1] Or, "radiant." [2] Or, "measured."

[3] Massuet gives the following explanation: The sun each day describes a circle which is divided into twelve parts of 30 degrees each, and consists of 360 degrees. And as for each of the hours, where days and nights are equal, 15 degrees are allowed, it follows that in two hours, that is, in the twelfth part of a day, the sun completes a progress of 30 degrees.

[4] Or, "of the same substance." [5] Or, "blamelessness."

Chapter L.

Marcus and Colarbasus refuted by Irenæus.

These assertions, then, those who are of the school of Valentinus advance concerning both the creation and the universe, in each case propagating opinions still more empty.[1] And they suppose this to constitute productiveness [in their system], if any one in like manner, making some greater discovery, will appear to work wonders. And finding, [as they insinuate,] each of the particulars of Scripture to accord with the aforesaid numbers, they [attempt to] criminate Moses and the prophets, alleging that these speak allegorically of the measures of the Æons. And inasmuch as these statements are trifling and unstable, it does not appear to me expedient to bring them before [the reader. This, however, is the less requisite,] as now the blessed presbyter Irenæus has powerfully and elaborately refuted the opinions of these [heretics]. And to him we are indebted for a knowledge of their inventions, [and have thereby succeeded in] proving that these heretics, appropriating these opinions from the Pythagorean philosophy, and from over-spun theories of the astrologers, cast an imputation upon Christ, as though He had delivered these [doctrines]. But since I suppose that the worthless opinions of these men have been sufficiently explained, and that it has been clearly proved whose disciples are Marcus and Colarbasus, who were successors of the school of Valentinus, let us see what statement likewise Basilides advances.

[1] Or, "strange."

BOOK VII.

OF THE

REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES.

CONTENTS.

THE following are the contents of the seventh book of the *Refutation of all Heresies*:—

What the opinion of Basilides is, and that, being struck with the doctrines of Aristotle, he out of these framed his heresy.

And what are the statements of Saturnilus,[1] who flourished much about the time of Basilides.

And how Menander advanced the assertion that the world was made by angels.

What is the folly of Marcion, and that his tenet is not new, nor [taken] out of the Holy Scriptures, but that he obtains it from Empedocles.

How Carpocrates acts sillily, in himself also alleging that existing things were made by angels.

That Cerinthus, in no wise indebted to the Scriptures, formed his opinion [not out of them], but from the tenets of the Egyptians.[2]

What are the opinions propounded by the Ebionæans, and that they in preference adhere to Jewish customs.

How Theodotus has been a victim of error, deriving contributions to his system partly from the Ebionæans, [partly from Cerinthus.][3]

[1] Satronilus (Miller).

[2] Or, "in no respect formed his system from the Scriptures, but from the tenets propounded by the Egyptians."

[3] Cruice would prefer, "from the Gnostics," on account of Cerinthus

And what were the opinions of Cerdon,[1] who both enunciated the doctrines of Empedocles, and who wickedly induced Marcion to step forward.

And how Lucian, when he had become a disciple of Marcion,[2] having divested himself of all shame, blasphemed God from time to time.

And Apelles also, having become a disciple of this [heretic], was not in the habit of advancing the same opinions with his preceptor; but being actuated [in the formation of his system] from the tenets of natural philosophers, assumed the substance of the universe as the fundamental principle of things.[3]

Chapter I.

Heresy compared to (1) the Stormy Ocean, (2) the Rocks of the Sirens —Moral from Ulysses and the Sirens.

The pupils of these men, when they perceive the doctrines of the heretics to be like unto the ocean when tossed into waves by violence of the winds, ought to sail past in quest of the tranquil haven. For a sea of this description is both infested with wild beasts and difficult of navigation, like, as we may say, the Sicilian [Sea], in which the legend reports were Cyclops, and Charybdis, and Scylla, and the rock[4] of the Sirens. Now, the poets of the Greeks allege that Ulysses sailed through [this channel], adroitly using [to his own purpose] the terribleness of these strange monsters.[5] For the

being coupled with the Gnostics and Ebionæans by Hippolytus, when he afterwards indicates the source from which Theodotus derived his heretical notions of Christ.

[1] Miller has "Sacerdon."

[2] The word μόνος occurs in Miller's text, but ought obviously to be expunged. It has probably, as Cruice conjectures, crept into the MS. from the termination of γενόμενος. Duncker suggests ὁμοίως.

[3] This rendering would ascribe Pantheism to Apelles. The passage might also be construed, "supposed there to exist an essence [that formed the basis] of the universe."

[4] An hiatus here has given rise to conjecture. Cruice suggests χορός (band) instead of ὄρος.

[5] Or, "practices of the monsters," or "inhospitable beasts." Abbe Cruice suggests παροξέων, and Roeper ἐμπλάστων.

savage cruelty [in the aspect] of these towards those who were sailing through was remarkable. The Sirens, however, singing sweetly and harmoniously, beguiled the voyagers, luring, by reason of their melodious voice, those who heard it, to steer their vessels towards [the promontory]. The [poets] report that Ulysses, on ascertaining this, smeared with wax the ears of his companions, and, lashing himself to the mast, sailed, free of danger, past the Sirens, hearing their chant distinctly. And my advice to my readers is to adopt a similar expedient, viz., either on account of their infirmity to smear their ears with wax, and sail [straight on] through the tenets of the heretics, not even listening to [doctrines] that are easily capable of enticing them into pleasure, like the luscious lay of the Sirens, or, by binding one's self to the Cross[1] of Christ, [and] hearkening with fidelity [to His words], not to be distracted, inasmuch as he has reposed his trust in Him to whom ere this he has been firmly knit, and [I admonish that man] to continue stedfastly [in this faith].

Chapter II.

The System of Basilides derived from Aristotle.

Since, therefore, in the six books preceding this, we have explained previous [heretical opinions], it now seems proper not to be silent respecting the [doctrines] of Basilides,[2] which are the tenets of Aristotle the Stagyrite, not [those] of Christ. But even though on a former occasion the opinions propounded by Aristotle have been elucidated, we shall not even now scruple to set them down beforehand in a sort of synopsis, for the purpose of enabling my readers, by means of a nearer comparison of the two systems, to perceive with

[1] Literally, the [accursed] tree.

[2] What Hippolytus now states in regard of the opinions of Basilides, is quite new (compare Irenæus, i. 24; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* iii. and vii.; Tertullian, *Præscript.* xlvi.; Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxiv.; Theodoret, i. 4; Eusebius, *Ecclesiast. Hist.* iv. 7; and Philastrius, c. xxxii.). Abbe Cruice refers us to *Basilidis philosophi Gnostici Sententiæ*, by Jacobi (Berlin, 1852), and to *Das Basilidianische System*, etc., by Ulhorn (Gottingen, 1855).

facility that the doctrines advanced by Basilides are [in reality] the clever quibbles of Aristotle.

Chapter iii.

Sketch of Aristotle's Philosophy.

Aristotle, then, makes a threefold division of substance. For one portion of it is a certain genus, and another a certain species, as that [philosopher] expresses it, and a third a certain individual. What is individual, however, [is so] not through any minuteness of body, but because by nature it cannot admit of any division whatsoever. The genus, on the other hand, is a sort of aggregate, made up of many and different germs. And from this genus, just as [from] a certain heap, all the species of existent things derive their distinctions.[1] And the genus constitutes a competent cause for [the production of] all generated entities. In order, however, that the foregoing statement may be clear, I shall prove [my position] through an example. And by means of this it will be possible for us to retrace our steps over the entire speculation of the Peripatetic [sage].

Chapter iv.

Aristotle's general Idea.

We affirm the existence of animal absolutely, not some animal. And this animal is neither ox, nor horse, nor man, nor god; nor is it significant of any of these at all, but is animal absolutely. From this animal the species of all particular animals derive their subsistence. And this animality, itself the *summum genus*,[2] constitutes [the originating principle] for all animals produced in those [particular] species, and [yet is] not [itself any one] of the things generated. For man is an animal deriving the principle [of existence] from that animality, and horse is an animal deriving the principle of existence from that animality. The horse, and

[1] Or, "dispositions."

[2] Compare Porphyry's *Isagoge*, c. ii., and Aristotle's *Categ.* c. v.

ox, and dog, and each of the rest of the animals, derive the principle [of existence] from the absolute animal, while animality itself is not any of these.

Chapter v.

Nonentity as a Cause.

If, however, this animality is not any of these [species], the subsistence, according to Aristotle, of the things that are generated, derived its reality from non-existent entities. For animality, from whence these singly have been derived, is not any one [of them]; and though it is not any one of them, it has yet become some one originating principle of existing things. But who it is that has established this substance as an originating cause of what is subsequently produced, we shall declare when we arrive at the proper place for entertaining a discussion of this sort.

Chapter vi.

Substance, according to Aristotle—the Predicates.

Since, however, as I have stated, substance is threefold, viz. genus, species, [and] individual; and [since] we have set down animality as being the genus, and man the species, as being already distinct from the majority of animals, but notwithstanding still to be identified [with animals of his own kind], inasmuch as not being yet moulded into a species of realized substance,—[therefore it is, that] when I impart form under a name to a man derived from the genus, I style him Socrates or Diogenes, or some one of the many denominations [in use]. And since [in this way, I repeat,] I comprehend under a name the man who constitutes a species that is generated from the genus, I denominate a substance of this description individual. For genus has been divided into species, and species into individual. But [as regards] the individual, since it has been comprehended under a name, it is not possible that, according to its own nature, it could

be divided into anything else, as we have divided each of the fore-mentioned [genus and species].[1]

Aristotle primarily, and especially, and pre-eminently entitles this—substance, inasmuch as it cannot either be predicated of any Subject, or exist in a Subject. He, however, predicates of the Subject, just as with the genus, what I said constituted animality, [and which is] predicated by means of a common name of all particular animals, such as ox, horse, and the rest that are placed under [this genus]. For it is true to say that man is an animal, and horse an animal, and that ox is an animal, and each of the rest. Now the meaning of the expression "predicated of a Subject" is this, that inasmuch as it is one, it can be predicated in like manner of many [particulars], even though these happen to be diversified in species. For neither does horse nor ox differ from man so far forth as he is an animal, for the definition of animal is said to suit all animals alike. For what is an animal? If we define it, a general definition will comprehend all animals. For animal is an animated Substance, endued with Sensation. Such are ox, man, horse, and each of the rest [of the animal kingdom]. But the meaning of the expression "in a Subject" is this, that what is inherent in anything, not as a part, it is impossible should exist separately from that in which it is. But this constitutes each of the accidents [resident] in Substance, and is what is termed Quality. Now, according to this, we say that certain persons are of such a quality; for instance, white, grey, black, just, unjust, temperate, and other [characteristics] similar to these. But it is impossible for any one of these to subsist itself by itself; but it must inhere in something else. If, however, neither animal which I predicate of all individual animals, nor accidents which are discoverable in all things of which they are non-essential qualities, can subsist themselves by themselves, and [yet if] individuals are formed out of these, [it follows, therefore, that] the triply divided Substance, which is not made up out of other things, consists of non-entities. If, then, what is primarily, and pre-eminently, and

[1] Aristotle's *Categ.* c. v.

particularly denominated Substance consists of these, it derives existence from nonentities, according to Aristotle.

Chapter vii.

Aristotle's Cosmogony—his "Psychology"—his "Entelecheia"—his Theology—his Ethics—Basilides follows Aristotle.

But concerning Substance, the statements now made will suffice. But not only is Substance denominated genus, species, [and] individual, but also matter, and form, and privation. There is, however, [as regards the substance,] in these no difference, even though the division be allowed to stand. Now, inasmuch as Substance is of this description, the arrangement of the world has taken place according to some such plan as the following. The world is divided, according to Aristotle, into very numerous and diversified parts. Now the portion of the world which extends from the earth to the moon is devoid of foresight, guideless, and is under the sway[1] of that nature alone which belongs to itself. But another [part of the world which lies] beyond the moon, and extends to the surface of heaven, is arranged in the midst of all order and foresight and governance. Now, the [celestial] superficies constitutes a certain fifth substance, and is remote from all those natural elements out of which the cosmical system derives consistence. And this is a certain fifth Substance, according to Aristotle,—as it were, a certain super-mundane essence. And [this essence] has become [a logical necessity] in his system, in order to accord with the [Peripatetic] division of the world. And [the topic of this fifth nature] constitutes a distinct investigation in philosophy. For there is extant a certain disquisition, styled *A Lecture on Physical [Phenomena]*, in which he has elaborately treated[2] concerning the operations which are conducted by nature and not providence, [in the quarter of space extending] from the earth as far as the moon. And there is also extant by him a certain other peculiar treatise on the principles of things [in the region] beyond the moon, and it bears the

[1] Or, "is sufficient." [2] Or, "the question is discussed."

following inscription: *Metaphysics.* And another peculiar dissertation has been [written] by him, entitled *Concerning a Fifth Substance,* and in this work Aristotle unfolds his theological opinions.

There exists some such division of the universe as we have now attempted to delineate in outline, and [corresponding with it is the division] of the Aristotelian philosophy. His work, however, [styled] *Concerning the Soul,* is obscure. For in the entire three books [where he treats of this subject] it is not possible to say clearly what is Aristotle's opinion concerning the soul. For, as regards the definition which he furnishes of soul, it is easy [enough] to declare this; but what it is that is signified by the definition[1] is difficult to discover. For soul, he says, is an *entelecheia* of a natural organic body; [but to explain] what this is at all, would require a very great number of arguments and a lengthened investigation. As regards, however, the Deity, the Originator of all those glorious objects in creation, [the nature of] this [First Cause]—even to one conducting his speculations by a more prolonged inquiry than that concerning [the soul]—is more difficult to know than the soul itself. The definition, however, which Aristotle furnishes of the Deity is, I admit, not difficult to ascertain, but it is impossible to comprehend the meaning of it. For, he says, [the Deity] is a "conception of conception;" but this is altogether a non-existent [entity]. The world, however, is incorruptible [and] eternal, according to Aristotle. For it has in itself nothing faulty,[2] inasmuch as it is directed by Providence and Nature. And Aristotle has laid down doctrines not only concerning Nature and a cosmical system, and Providence, and God,[3] but he has written [more than this]; for there is extant by him likewise a certain treatise on ethical subjects, and these he inscribes

[1] See Aristotle, *De Anim.* ii. 1. [2] Literally, "out of tune."

[3] These works must be among Aristotle's lost writings (see Fabricius' *Bibl. Græc.* t. iii. pp. 232, 404). We have no work of Aristotle's expressly treating "of God." However, the Stagyrite's theology, such as it is, is unfolded in his *Metaphysics* (see Macmahon's analysis prefixed to his translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysics,* Bohn's Classical Library).

Books of Ethics.[1] But throughout these he aims at rendering the habits of his hearers excellent from being worthless. When, therefore, Basilides has been discovered, not in spirit alone, but also in the actual expressions and names, transferring the tenets of Aristotle into our evangelical and saving doctrine, what remains, but that, by restoring what he has appropriated from others, we should prove to the disciples of this [heretic] that Christ will in no wise profit them, inasmuch as they are heathenish?

Chapter VIII.

Basilides and Isidorus allege Apostolic Sanction for their Systems—they really follow Aristotle.

Basilides, therefore, and Isidorus, the true son and disciple of Basilides, say that Matthias[2] communicated to them secret discourses, which, being specially instructed, he heard from the Saviour. Let us, then, see how clearly Basilides, simultaneously with Isidorus, and the entire band of these [heretics], not only absolutely belies Matthias, but even the Saviour Himself. [Time] was, says [Basilides], when there was nothing. Not even, however, did that nothing constitute anything of existent things; but, to express myself undisguisedly and candidly, and without any quibbling, it is altogether nothing. But when, he says, I employ the expression "was," I do not say that it was; but [I speak in this way] in order to signify the meaning of what I wish to elucidate. I affirm then, he says, that it was "altogether nothing." For, he says, that is not absolutely ineffable which is named [so] (although undoubtedly we call this ineffable), but that which is "non-ineffable." For that which is "non-ineffable" is not denominated ineffable, but is, he says, above every name that is named. For, he says, by no means for the world are these names sufficient, but so manifold are its divisions that there is a deficiency [of names]. And I do not take it upon

[1] Aristotle composed three treatises on ethical subjects: (1) *Ethics to Nicomachus;* (2) *Great Morals;* (3) *Morals to Eudemus.*

[2] Miller erroneously reads "Matthew."

myself to discover, he says, proper denominations for all things. Undoubtedly, however, one ought mentally, not by means of names, to conceive, after an ineffable manner, the peculiarities [of things] denominated. For an equivocal terminology, [when employed by teachers,] has created for their pupils confusion and a source of error concerning objects. [The Basilidians], in the first instance, laying hold on this borrowed and furtively derived tenet from the Peripatetic [sage], play upon the folly of those who herd together with them. For Aristotle, born many generations before Basilides, first lays down a system in *The Categories* concerning homonymous words. And these heretics bring this [system] to light as if it were peculiarly their own, and as if it were some novel [doctrine], and some secret disclosure from the discourses of Matthias.

Chapter IX.

Basilides adopts the Aristotelian Doctrine of "Nonentity."

Since, therefore, "nothing" existed,—[I mean] not matter, nor substance, nor what is insubstantial, nor is absolute, nor composite,[1] [nor conceivable,] nor inconceivable, [nor what is sensible,] nor devoid of senses, nor man, nor angel, nor a god, nor, in short, any of those objects that have names, or are apprehended by sense, or that are cognised by intellect, but [are] thus [cognised], even with greater minuteness, still, when all things are absolutely removed,—[since, I say, "nothing" existed,] God, "non-existent" (whom Aristotle styles "conception of conception," but these [Basildians] "non-existent"), inconceivably, insensibly, indeterminately, involuntarily, impassively, [and] unactuated by desire, willed to create a world. Now I employ, he says, the expression "willed" for the purpose of signifying [that he did so] involuntarily, and inconceivably, and insensibly. And by the expression "world" I do not mean that which was subsequently formed according to breadth and division, and which

[1] This emendation is made by Abbe Cruice. The MS. has "incomposite," an obviously untenable reading.

stood apart; nay, [far from this,] for [I mean] the germ of a world. The germ, however, of the world had all things in itself. Just as the grain of mustard comprises all things simultaneously, holding them [collected] together within the very smallest [compass], viz. roots, stem, branches, leaves, and innumerable grains which are produced from the plant, [as] seeds again of other plants, and frequently of others [still], that are produced [from them]. In this way, "non-existent" God made the world out of nonentities, casting and depositing some one Seed that contained in itself a conglomeration of the germs of the world. But in order that I may render more clear what it is those [heretics] affirm, [I shall mention the following illustration of theirs.] As an egg of some variegated and particoloured bird,—for instance the peacock, or some other [bird] still more manifold and particoloured,—[as the egg, I say, of such a bird, though] being one in reality, contains in itself numerous forms of manifold, and particoloured, and much compounded substances; so, he says, the non-existent Seed of the world, which has been deposited by the non-existent God, constitutes at the same time the germ of a multitude of forms and a multitude of substances.

Chapter x.

Origin of the World—Basilides' Account of the "Sonship."

All things, therefore, whatsoever it is possible to declare, and whatever, being not as yet discovered, one must omit, were likely to receive adaptation to the world which was about to be generated from the Seed. And this [Seed], at the requisite seasons, increases in bulk in a peculiar manner, according to accession, as through the instrumentality of a Deity so great, and of this description. [But this Deity] the creature can neither express nor grasp by perception. [Now, all these things] were inherent, treasured in the Seed, as we afterwards observe in a new-born child the growth of teeth, and paternal substance, and intellect, and everything which, though previously having no existence, accrues unto a

man, growing little by little, from a youthful period of life. But since it would be absurd to say that any projection of a non-existent God became anything non-existent (for Basilides altogether shuns and dreads the Substances of things generated in the way of projection: for, [he asks,] of what sort of projection is there a necessity, or of what sort of matter[1] must we assume the previous existence, in order that God should construct a world, as the spider his web; or [as] a mortal man, for the purpose of working it, takes a [piece of] brass or of wood, or some other of the parts of matter?),—[projection, I say, being out of the question,] certainly, says [Basilides], God spoke the word, and it was carried into effect. And this, as these men assert, is that which has been stated by Moses: "Let there be light, and there was light."[2] Whence, he says, came the light? From nothing. For it has not been written, he says, whence, but this only, [that it came] from the voice of him who speaks the word. And he who speaks the word, he says, was non-existent; nor was that existent which was being produced.[3] The seed of the cosmical system was generated, he says, from nonentities; [and I mean by the seed,] the word which was spoken, "Let there be light." And this, he says, is that which has been stated in the Gospels: "He was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."[4] He derives his originating principles from that Seed, and obtains from the same source his illuminating power. This is that seed which has in itself the entire conglomeration of germs. And Aristotle affirms this to be genus, and it is distributed by him into infinite species; just as from animal, which is non-existent, we sever ox, horse, [and] man. When, therefore, the cosmical Seed becomes the basis [for a subsequent development], those [heretics] assert, [to quote Basilides' own words:] "Whatsoever I affirm," he says, "to have been made after these, ask no question as to whence. For [the Seed] had all seeds treasured and reposing in itself, just as non-existent

[1] Or, "of what sort of material substance," etc.

[2] Gen. i. 3.

[3] Or, "being declared."

[4] John i. 9 (see translator's Introductory Notice).

entities, and which were designed to be produced by a non-existent Deity."

Let us see, therefore, what they say is first, or what second, or what third, [in the development of] what is generated from the cosmical Seed. There existed, he says, in the Seed itself, a Sonship, threefold, in every respect of the same Substance with the non-existent God, [and] begotten from nonentities. Of this Sonship [thus] involving a threefold division, one part was refined, [another gross,] and another requiring purification. The refined portion, therefore, in the first place, simultaneously with the earliest deposition of the Seed by the non-existent one, immediately burst forth [1] and went upwards and hurried above from below, employing a sort of velocity described in poetry,—

". . . . As wing or thought,"[2]—

and attained, he says, unto him that is non-existent. For every nature desires that [non-existent one], on account of a superabundance of beauty and bloom. Each [nature desires this], however, after a different mode. The more gross portion, however, [of the Sonship] continuing still in the Seed, [and] being a certain imitative [principle], was not able to hurry upwards. For [this portion] was much more deficient in the refinement that the Sonship possessed, which through itself hurried upwards, [and so the more gross portion] was left behind. Therefore the more gross Sonship equipped itself with some such wing as Plato, the Preceptor of Aristotle, fastens on the soul in [his] *Phædrus*.[3] And Basilides styles such, not a wing, but Holy Spirit; and Sonship invested in this [Spirit] confers benefits, and receives them in turn. He confers benefits, because, as a wing of a bird, when removed from the bird, would not of itself soar high up and aloft; nor, again, would a bird, when disengaged from its pinion, at any time soar high up and aloft; [so, in like manner,] the Sonship involved some such relation in reference to the Holy Spirit, and the Spirit in reference to

[1] Literally, "throbbed."

[2] *Odyssey*, vii. 36.

[3] See Plato, vol. i. p. 75 et seq., ed Bekker. Miller has "Phædo;" an obvious mistake.

the Sonship. For the Sonship, carried upwards by the Spirit as by a wing, bears aloft [in turn] its pinion, that is, the Spirit. And it approaches the refined Sonship, and the non-existent God,[1] even Him who fabricated the world out of nonentities. He was not, [however,] able to have this [spirit] with [the Sonship] itself; for it was not of the same substance [with God], nor has it [any] nature [in common] with the Sonship. But as pure and dry air is contrary to [their] nature, and destructive to fishes; so, in contrariety to the nature of the Holy Spirit, was that place simultaneously of non-existent Deity and Sonship,—[a place] more ineffable than ineffable [entities], and higher up than all names.

Sonship, therefore, left this [spirit] near that Blessed Place, which cannot be conceived or represented by any expression. [He left the spirit] not altogether deserted or separated from the Sonship; nay, [far from it,] for it is just as when a most fragrant ointment is put into a vessel, that, even though [the vessel] be emptied [of it] with ever so much care, nevertheless some odour of the ointment still remains, and is left behind, even after [the ointment] is separated from the vessel; and the vessel retains an odour of ointment, though [it contain] not the ointment [itself]. So the Holy Spirit has continued without any share in the Sonship, and separated [from it], and has in itself, similarly with ointment, its own power, a savour of Sonship. And this is what has been declared: "As the ointment upon the head which descended to the beard of Aaron."[2] This is the savour from the Holy Spirit borne down from above, as far as formlessness, and the interval [of space] in the vicinity of our world. And from this the Son began to ascend, sustained as it were, says [Basilides], upon eagles' wings, and upon the back. For, he says, all [entities] hasten upwards from below, from things inferior to those that are superior. For not one of those things that are among things superior, is so silly as to descend beneath. The third Sonship, however, that which requires

[1] Miller's text has, instead of τοῦ οὐκ ὄντος (non-existent), οἰκοῦντος (who dwells [above]).

[2] Ps. cxxxiii. 2.

purification, has continued, he says, in the vast conglomeration of all germs conferring benefits and receiving them. But in what manner it is that [the third Sonship] receives benefits and confers them, we shall afterwards declare when we come to the proper place for discussing this question.

Chapter xi.

The "Great Archon" of Basilides.

When, therefore, a first and second ascension of the Sonship took place, and the Holy Spirit itself also remained after the mode mentioned, the firmament was placed between the super-mundane [spaces] and the world. For existing things were distributed by Basilides into two continuous and primary divisions, and are, according to him, denominated partly in a certain [respect] world, and partly in a certain [respect] super-mundane [spaces]. But the spirit, a line of demarcation between the world and super-mundane [spaces], is that which is both holy, and has abiding in itself the savour of Sonship. While, therefore, the firmament which is above the heaven is coming into existence, there burst forth, and was begotten from the cosmical Seed, and the conglomeration of all germs, the Great Archon [and] Head of the world, [who constitutes] a certain [species of] beauty, and magnitude, and indissoluble power.[1] For, says he, he is more ineffable than ineffable entities, and more potent than potent ones, and more wise than wise ones, and superior to all the beautiful ones whatever you could mention. This [Archon], when begotten, raised Himself up and soared aloft, and was carried up entire as far as the firmament. And there He paused, supposing the firmament to be the termination of His ascension and elevation, and considering that there existed nothing at all beyond these. And than all the subjacent [entities] whatsoever there were among them which remained mundane, He became more wise, more powerful, more comely, more lustrous, [in fact,] pre-eminent for beauty above any entities you could mention with the exception of the Sonship

[1] Or, "unspeakable power."

alone, which is still left in the [conglomeration of] all germs. For he was not aware that there is [a Sonship] wiser and more powerful, and better than Himself. Therefore imagining Himself to be Lord, and Governor, and a wise Master Builder, He turns Himself to [the work of] the creation of every object in the cosmical system. And first, He deemed it proper not to be alone, but made unto Himself, and generated from subjacent [entities], a Son far superior to Himself, and wiser. For all these things had the non-existent Deity previously determined upon, when He cast down the [conglomeration of] all germs. Beholding, therefore, the Son, He was seized with astonishment, and loved [Him], and was struck with amazement. For some beauty of this description appeared[1] to the Great Archon to belong to the Son, and the Archon caused Him to sit on his right [hand]. This is, according to these [heretics], what is denominated the Ogdoad, where the Great Archon has his throne. The entire celestial creation, then, that is, the Æther, He Himself, the Great Wise Demiurge formed. The Son, however, begotten of this [Archon], operates in Him, and offered Him suggestions, being endued with far greater wisdom than the Demiurge Himself.

Chapter XII.

Basilides adopts the "Entelecheia" of Aristotle.

This, then, constitutes the *entelecheia* of the natural organic body, according to Aristotle, [viz.] a soul operating in the body, without which the body is able to accomplish nothing; [I mean nothing] that is greater, and more illustrious, and more powerful, and more wise than the body.[2] The account, therefore, which Aristotle has previously rendered concerning the soul and the body, Basilides elucidates as applied to the Great Archon and his Son. For the Archon has generated, according to Basilides, a son; and the soul as an operation and

[1] Or, "was produced unto."

[2] Miller's text has "the soul," which Duncker and Cruice properly correct into "body."

completion, Aristotle asserts to be an *entelecheia* of a natural organic body. As, therefore, the *entelecheia* controls the body, so the Son, according to Basilides, controls the God that is more ineffable than ineffable [entities]. All things, therefore, have been provided for, and managed by the majesty[1] of the Great Archon; [I mean] whatever objects exist in the æthereal region of space as far as the moon, for from that quarter onwards air is separated from æther. When all objects in the æthereal regions, then, were arranged, again from [the conglomeration of] all germs another Archon ascended, greater, of course, than all subjacent [entities], with the exception, however, of the Sonship that had been left behind, but far inferior to the First Archon. And this [second Archon] is called by them Rhetus.[2] And this Topos is styled Hebdomad, and this [Archon] is the manager and fabricator of all subjacent [entities]. And He has likewise made unto Himself out [of the conglomeration of] all germs, a son who is more prudent and wise than Himself, similarly to what has been stated to have taken place in the case of the First Archon. That which exists in this quarter [of the universe] constitutes, he says, the actual conglomeration and collection of all seeds; and the things which are generated are produced according to nature, as has been declared already by Him who calculates on things future, when they ought[3] [to be], and what sort they ought [to be], and how they ought [to be]. And of these no one is Chief, or Guardian, or Creator. For [a] sufficient [cause of existence] for them is that calculation which the Non-Existent One formed when He exercised the function of creation.

[1] Μεγαλειότητος, a correction from μεγάλης.

[2] A correction from "Arrhetus."

[3] This passage is very obscure, and is variously rendered by the commentators. The above translation follows Schneidewin's version, which yields a tolerably clear meaning.

Chapter xiii.

Further Explanation of the "Sonship."

When, therefore, according to these [heretics], the entire world and super-mundane entities were finished, and [when] nothing exists labouring under deficiency, there still remains in the [conglomeration of] all germs the third Sonship, which had been left behind in the Seed to confer benefits and receive them. And it must needs be that the Sonship which had been left behind ought likewise to be revealed and re-instated above. And His place should be above the Conterminous Spirit, near the refined and imitative Sonship and the Non-Existent One. But this would be in accordance with what has been written, he says: "And the creation itself groaneth together, and travaileth in pain together, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God."[1] Now, we who are spiritual are sons, he says, who have been left here to arrange, and mould, and rectify, and complete the souls which, according to nature, are so constituted as to continue in this quarter of the universe. "Sin, then, reigned from Adam unto Moses,"[2] as it has been written. For the Great Archon exercised dominion and possesses an empire with limits extending as far as the firmament. And He imagines Himself alone to be God, and that there exists nothing above Him, for [the reason that] all things have been guarded by unrevealed Siope. This, he says, is the mystery which has not been made known to former generations; but in those days the Great Archon, the Ogdoad, was King and Lord, as it seemed, of the universe. But [in reality] the Hebdomad was king and lord of this quarter of the universe, and the Ogdoad is Arrhetus, whereas the Hebdomad is Rhetus. This, he says, is the Archon of the Hebdomad, who has spoken to Moses, and says: "I am the God of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and I have not manifested unto them the name of God"[3] (for so they wish that it had been written)—that is, the God, Arrhetus, Archon of the Ogdoad. All the prophets, therefore, who were before the Saviour uttered their predictions,

[1] Rom. viii. 19, 22. [2] Rom. v. 14. [3] Ex. vi. 2, 3.

he says, from this source [of inspiration]. Since, therefore, it was requisite, he says, that we should be revealed as the children of God, in expectation of whose manifestation, he says, the creation habitually groans and travails in pain, the Gospel came into the world, and passed through every Principality, and Power, and Dominion, and every Name that is named.[1] And [the Gospel] came in reality, though nothing descended from above; nor did the blessed Sonship retire from that Inconceivable, and Blessed, [and] Non-Existent God. Nay, [far from it;] for as Indian naphtha, when lighted merely[2] from a considerably long distance, nevertheless attracts fire [towards it], so from below, from the formlessness of the conglomeration [of all germs], the powers pass upwards as far as the Sonship. For, according to the illustration of the Indian naphtha, the Son of the Great Archon of the Ogdoad, as if he were some [sort of] naphtha, apprehends and seizes conceptions from the Blessed Sonship, whose place of habitation is situated after that of the Conterminous [Spirit]. For the power of the Sonship which is in the midst of the Holy Spirit, [that is,] in the midst of the [Conterminous] Spirit, shares the flowing and rushing thoughts of the Sonship with the Son of the Great Archon.

Chapter xiv.

Whence came the Gospel—the Number of Heavens according to Basilides —Explanation of Christ's Miraculous Conception.

The Gospel then came, says [Basilides], first from the Sonship through the Son, that was seated beside the Archon, to the Archon, and the Archon learned that He was not God of the universe, but was begotten. But [ascertaining that] He has above Himself the deposited treasure of that Ineffable and Unnameable [and] Non-existent One, and of the Sonship, He was both converted and filled with terror, when He was brought to understand in what ignorance He was [involved]. This, he says, is what has been declared: "The fear

[1] Eph. i. 21. [2] Or, "seen merely."

of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."[1] For, being orally instructed by Christ, who was seated near, he began to acquire wisdom, [inasmuch as he thereby] learns who is the Non-Existent One, what the Sonship [is], what the Holy Spirit [is], what the apparatus of the universe [is], and what is likely to be the consummation of things. This is the wisdom spoken in a mystery, concerning which, says [Basilides], Scripture uses the following expressions: "Not in words taught of human wisdom, but in [those] taught of the Spirit."[2] The Archon, then, being orally instructed, and taught, and being [thereby] filled with fear, proceeded to make confession concerning the sin which He had committed in magnifying Himself. This, he says, is what is declared: "I have recognised my sin, and I know my transgression, [and] about this I shall confess for ever."[3] When, then, the Great Archon had been orally instructed, and every creature of the Ogdoad had been orally instructed and taught, and [after] the mystery became known to the celestial [powers], it was also necessary that afterwards the Gospel should come to the Hebdomad, in order likewise that the Archon of the Hebdomad might be similarly instructed and indoctrinated into the Gospel. The Son of the Great Archon [therefore] kindled in the Son of the Archon of the Hebdomad the light which Himself possessed and had kindled from above from the Sonship. And the Son of the Archon of the Hebdomad had radiance imparted to Him, and He proclaimed the Gospel to the Archon of the Hebdomad. And in like manner, according to the previous account, He Himself was both terrified and induced to make confession. When, therefore, all [beings] in the Hebdomad had been likewise enlightened, and had the Gospel announced to them (for in these regions of the universe there exist, according to these heretics, creatures infinite [in number], viz. Principalities and Powers and Rulers, in regard of which there is extant among the [Basilidians][4] a very prolix and verbose treatise, where they allege that there are three hundred and sixty-five

[1] Prov. i. 7. [2] 1 Cor. ii. 13. [3] Ps. xxxii. 5, li. 3.

[4] κατ' αὐτούς. Ulhorn fills up the ellipsis thus: "And in reference to these localities of the Archons," etc.

heavens, and that the great Archon of these is Abrasax,[1] from the fact that his name comprises the computed number 365, so that, of course, the calculation of the title includes all [existing] things, and that for these reasons the year consists of so many days) ;—but when, he says, these [two events, viz. the illumination of the Hebdomad and the manifestation of the Gospel] had thus taken place, it was necessary, likewise, that afterwards the Formlessness existent in our quarter of creation should have radiance imparted to it, and that the mystery should be revealed to the Sonship, which had been left behind in Formlessness, just like an abortion.

Now this [mystery] was not made known to previous generations, as, he says, it has been written, "By revelation was made known unto me the mystery;"[2] and, "I have heard inexpressible words which it is not possible for man to declare."[3] The light, [therefore,] which came down from the Ogdoad above to the Son of the Hebdomad, descended from the Hebdomad upon Jesus the son of Mary, and he had radiance imparted to him by being illuminated with the light that shone upon him. This, he says, is that which has been declared: "The Holy Spirit will come upon thee,"[4] [meaning] that which proceeded from the Sonship through the conterminous spirit upon the Ogdoad and Hebdomad, as far as Mary; "and the power of the Highest will overshadow thee," [meaning] the power of the anointing,[5] [which streamed] from the [celestial] height above [through] the Demiurge, as far as the creation, which is [as far as] the Son. And as far as that [Son] he says the world consisted thus. And as far as this, the entire Sonship, which is left behind for benefiting the souls in Formlessness, and for being the recipient in turn of benefits,—[this Sonship, I say,] when it is transformed, followed Jesus, and hastened upwards, and came forth purified. And it becomes most refined, so that it could, as the first [Sonship], hasten

[1] This is a more correct form than that occasionally given, viz. Abraxas (see Beausobre, *Hist. Manich.* lib. ii. p. 51).

[2] Eph. iii. 3-5. [3] 2 Cor. xii. 4. [4] Luke i. 35.

[5] Miller's text has "judgment," which yields no meaning. Roeper suggests "Ogdoad."

upwards through its own instrumentality. For it possesses all the power that, according to nature, is firmly connected with the light which from above shone down [upon earth].

Chapter XV.

God's Dealings with the Creature—Basilides' Notion of (1) the Inner Man, (2) the Gospel—his Interpretation of the Life and Sufferings of our Lord.

When, therefore, he says, the entire Sonship shall have come, and shall be above the conterminous spirit, then the creature will become the object of mercy. For [the creature] groans until now,[1] and is tormented, and waits for the manifestation of the sons of God, in order that all who are men of the Sonship may ascend from thence. When this takes place, God, he says, will bring upon the whole world enormous ignorance, that all things may continue according to nature, and that nothing may inordinately desire anything of the things that are contrary to nature. But [far from it]; for all the souls of this quarter of creation, as many as possess the nature of remaining immortal in this [region] only, continue [in it], aware of nothing superior or better [than their present state]. And there will not prevail any rumour or knowledge in regions below, concerning beings whose dwelling is placed above, lest subjacent souls should be wrung with torture from longing after impossibilities. [It would be] just as if a fish were to crave to feed on the mountains along with sheep. [For] a wish of this description would, he says, be their destruction. All things, therefore, that abide in [this] quarter[2] are incorruptible, but corruptible if they are disposed to wander and cross over from the things that are according to nature. In this way the Archon of the Hebdomad will know nothing of superjacent entities. For enormous ignorance will lay hold on this one likewise, in order that sorrow, and grief, and groaning may depart from him; for he will not desire aught of impossible things, nor

[1] Rom. viii. 19–22.

[2] Or, "their own peculiar locality" (Bunsen).

will he be visited with anguish. In like manner, however, the same ignorance will lay hold also on the Great Archon of the Ogdoad, and similarly on all the creatures that are subject unto him, in order that in no respect anything may desire aught of those things that are contrary to nature, and may not [thus] be overwhelmed with sorrow. And so there will be the restitution of all things which, in conformity with nature, have from the beginning a foundation in the seed of the universe, but will be restored at [their own] proper periods. And that each thing, says [Basilides], has its own particular times, the Saviour is a sufficient [witness[1]] when He observes, "Mine hour is not yet come."[2] And the Magi [afford similar testimony] when they gaze wistfully upon the [Saviour's] star.[3] For [Jesus] Himself was, he says, mentally preconceived at the time of the generation of the stars, and of the complete return to their starting-point of the seasons in the vast conglomeration [of all germs]. This is, according to these [Basilidians], he who has been conceived as the inner spiritual man in what is natural (now this is the Sonship which left there the soul, not [that it might be] mortal, but that it might abide here according to nature, just as the first Sonship left above in its proper locality the Holy Spirit, [that is, the spirit] which is conterminous),—[this, I say, is he who has been conceived as the inner spiritual man, and] has then been arrayed in his own peculiar soul.

In order, however, that we may not omit any of the doctrines of this [Basilides], I shall likewise explain whatever statements they put forward respecting a gospel. For gospel with them, as has been elucidated, is of super-mundane entities the knowledge which the Great Archon did not understand. As, then, it was manifested unto him that there are likewise the Holy Spirit—that is, the conterminous [spirit]—and the Sonship, and the Non-existent God, the cause of all these, he rejoiced at the communications made to him, and was filled with exultation. According to them, this constitutes the gospel. Jesus, however, was born, according to these [heretics], as we have already declared.

[1] This word is added by Bunsen. [2] John ii. 4. [3] Matt. ii. 1, 2.

And when the generation which has been previously explained took place, all the events in our Lord's life occurred, according to them, in the same manner as they have been described in the Gospels. And these things happened, he says, in order that Jesus might become the first-fruits of a distinction of the different orders [of created objects] that had been confused together.[1] For when the world had been divided into an Ogdoad, which is the head of the entire world (now the Great Archon is head of the entire world), and into a Hebdomad (which is the head of the Hebdomad, the Demiurge of subjacent entities), and into this order of creatures [that prevails] amongst us, where exists Formlessness, it was requisite that the various orders of created objects that had been confounded together should be distinguished by a separating process performed by Jesus. [Now this separation] that which was his corporeal part suffered, and this was [the part] of Formlessness, and reverted into Formlessness. And that was resuscitated which was his psychical part, and this was [part] of the Hebdomad, and reverted into the Hebdomad. And he revived that [element in his nature] which was the peculiar property of the elevated region where dwells the Great Archon, and [that element] remained beside the Great Archon. And he carried upwards as far as [that which is] above that which was [the peculiar property] of the conterminous spirit, and he remained in the conterminous spirit. And through him there was purified the third Sonship, which had been left for conferring benefits, and receiving them. And [through Jesus] it ascended towards the blessed Sonship, and passed through all these. For the entire purpose of these was the blending together of, as it were, the conglomeration of all germs, and the distinction of the various orders of created objects, and the restoration into their proper component parts of things that had been blended together. Jesus, therefore, became the first-fruits of the distinction of the various orders of created objects, and his Passion took place for not any other reason than the distinction which was thereby brought about in the various orders of created objects

[1] See Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* ii. p. 375, ed. Sylburg.

that had been confounded together. For in this manner [Basilides] says that the entire Sonship, which had been left in Formlessness for the purpose of conferring benefits and receiving them, was divided into its component elements, according to the manner in which also the distinction of natures had taken place in Jesus. These, then, are the legends which likewise Basilides details after his sojourn in Egypt;[1] and being instructed by the [sages of this country] in so great a system of wisdom, [the heretic] produced fruits of this description.

Chapter xvi.

The System of Saturnilus.

But one Saturnilus,[2] who flourished about the same period with Basilides,[3] but spent his time in Antioch, [a city] of Syria, propounded opinions akin to whatever [tenets] Menander [advanced]. He asserts that there is one Father, unknown to all—He who had made angels, archangels, principalities, [and] powers; and that by certain angels, seven [in number], the world was made, and all things that are in it. And [Saturnilus affirms] that man was a work of angels. There had appeared above from [the Being of] absolute sway, a brilliant[4] image; and when [the angels] were not able to detain this, on account of its immediately, he says, returning with rapidity upwards, they exhorted one another, saying, "Let us make man in our likeness and image."[5] And when the figure was formed, and was not, he says, able, owing to the impotence of the angels, to lift up itself, but continued writhing as a worm, the Power above,

[1] Bernays and Bunsen read τὸν Περίπατον, which Abbe Cruice and Duncker consider erroneous, referring us to Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* iv. 7.

[2] See Irenæus, i. 24; Tertullian, *Præscript.* xlvi.; Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxiii.; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.* i. 3; St Augustine, *Hær.* iii. Eusebius styles this heretic Saturninus.

[3] Epiphanius makes Basilides and Saturnilus belong to the same school.

[4] φαεινῆς: Miller reads φωνῆς.

[5] Gen. i. 26.

compassionating him on account of his having been born in its own image, sent forth a scintillation of life, which raised man up, and caused him to have vitality. [Saturnilus] asserts that this scintillation of life rapidly returns after death to those things that are of the same order of existence; and that the rest, from which they have been generated, are resolved into those. And the Saviour[1] he supposed to be unbegotten and incorporeal, and devoid of figure. [Saturnilus,] however, [maintained that Jesus] was manifested as man in appearance only. And he says that the God of the Jews is one of the angels, and, on account of the Father's wishing to deprive of sovereignty all the Archons, that Christ came for the overthrow of the God of the Jews, and for the salvation of those that believe upon Him; and that these have in them the scintillation of life. For he asserted that two kinds of men had been formed by the angels,—one wicked, but the other good. And, since demons from time to time assisted wicked [men, Saturnilus affirms] that the Saviour came for the overthrow of worthless men and demons, but for the salvation of good men. And he affirms that marriage and procreation are from Satan. The majority, however, of those who belong to this [heretic's school] abstain from animal food likewise, [and] by this affectation of asceticism [make many their dupes]. And [they maintain] that the prophecies have been uttered, partly by the world-making angels, and partly by Satan, who is also the very angel whom they suppose to act in antagonism to the cosmical[2] [angels], and especially to the God of the Jews. These, then, are in truth the tenets of Saturnilus.

Chapter xvii.

Marcion—his Dualism—derives his System from Empedocles—Sketch of the Doctrine of Empedocles.

But Marcion,[3] a native of Pontus, far more frantic than these

[1] Miller reads "the Father."

[2] Or, "world-making."

[3] See Irenæus, i. 27; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* and *Præscript.* xxx.; Epiphanius, *Hær.* xlii.; Theodoret, *Hær. Fab.* i. 24; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* v. 13, 16; and St Augustine, *Hær.* xxii.

[heretics], omitting the majority of the tenets of the greater number [of speculators], [and] advancing into a doctrine still more unabashed, supposed [the existence of] two originating causes of the universe, alleging one of them to be a certain good [principle], but the other an evil one. And himself imagining that he was introducing some novel [opinion], founded a school full of folly, and attended by men of a sensual mode of life, inasmuch as he himself was one of lustful propensities.[1] This [heretic] having thought that the multitude would forget that he did not happen to be a disciple of Christ, but of Empedocles,[2] who was far anterior to himself, framed and formed the same opinions,—namely, that there are two causes of the universe, discord and friendship. For what does Empedocles say respecting the plan of the world? Even though we have previously spoken [on this subject], yet even now also, for the purpose, at all events, of comparing the heresy of this plagiarist [with its source], we shall not be silent.

This [philosopher] affirms that all the elements out of which the world consists and derives its being, are six: two of them material, [viz.] earth and water; and two of them instruments by which material objects are arranged and altered, [viz.] fire and air; and two of them, by means of the instruments, operating upon matter and fashioning it, viz. discord and friendship. [Empedocles] expresses himself somehow thus:

> "The four roots of all things hear thou first:
> Brilliant Jove, and life-giving Juno and Aidoneus,
> And Nestis, who with tears bedews the mortal font."[3]

Jupiter is fire, and life-giving Juno earth, which produces fruits for the support of existence; and Aidoneus air, because although through him we behold all things, yet himself alone we do not see. But Nestis is water, for this is a sole vehicle

[1] Or, "quarrelsome," or "frantic."

[2] Hippolytus' discussion respecting the heresy of Marcion is chiefly interesting from the light which it throws on the philosophy of Empedocles.

[3] These are lines 55–57 in Karsten's edition of a collection of the Empedoclean verses.

of [food], and thus becomes a cause of sustenance to all those that are being nourished; [but] this of itself is not able to afford nutriment to those that are being nourished. For if it did possess the power of affording nutriment, animal life, he says, could never be destroyed by famine, inasmuch as water is always superabundant in the world. For this reason he denominates Nestis water, because, [though indirectly] being a cause of nutriment, it is not [of itself] competent to afford nutriment to those things that are being nourished. These, therefore—to delineate them as by way of outline—are the principles that comprise [Empedocles'] entire theory of the world: [viz.] water and earth, out of which [proceed] generated entities; fire and spirit, [which are] instruments and efficient [causes], but discord and friendship, which are [principles] artistically fabricating [the universe]. And friendship is a certain peace, and unanimity, and love, whose entire effort is, that there should be one finished and complete world. Discord, however, invariably separates that one [world], and subdivides it, or makes many things out of one. Therefore discord is of the entire creation a cause which he styles "*oulomenon*," that is, destructive. For it is the concern of this [discord], that throughout every age the creation itself should continue to preserve its existing condition. And ruinous discord has been [thus] a fabricator and an efficient cause of the production of all generated entities; whereas friendship [is the cause] of the eduction, and alteration, and restoration of existing things into one system. And in regard of these [causes], Empedocles asserts that they are two immortal and unbegotten principles, and such as have not as yet received an originating cause of existence. [Empedocles] somewhere or other [expresses himself] in the following manner:

> "For if both once it was, and will be; never, I think,
> Will be the age eternal void of both of these." [1]

[But] what are these [two]? Discord and Friendship; for they did not begin to come into being, but pre-existed and always will exist, because, from the fact of their being un-

[1] These are lines 110, 111 in Stein's edition of *Empedocles*.

begotten, they are not able to undergo corruption. But fire, [and water,] and earth, and air, are [entities] that perish and revive. For when these generated [bodies], by reason of Discord, cease to exist, Friendship, laying hold on them, brings them forward, and attaches and associates them herself with the universe. [And this takes place] in order that the Universe may continue one, being always ordered by Friendship in a manner one and the same, and with [uninterrupted] uniformity.

When, however, Friendship makes unity out of plurality, and associates with unity separated entities, Discord, again, forcibly severs them from unity, and makes them many, that is, fire, water, earth, air, [as well as] the animals and plants produced from these, and whatever portions of the world we observe. And in regard of the form of the world, what sort it is, [as] arranged by Friendship, [Empedocles] expresses himself in the following terms:

> "For not from back two arms arise,
> Not feet, not nimble knees, not genital groin,
> But a globe it was, and equal to itself it is."[1]

An operation of this description Friendship maintains, and makes [one] most beautiful form of the world out of plurality. Discord, however, the cause of the arrangement of each of the parts [of the universe], forcibly severs and makes many things out of that one [form]. And this is what Empedocles affirms respecting his own generation:

> "Of these I also am from God a wandering exile."[2]

That is, [Empedocles] denominates as God the unity and unification of that [one form] in which [the world] existed antecedent to the separation and production [introduced] by Discord among the majority of those things [that subsisted] in accordance with the disposition [effected] by Discord. For Empedocles affirms Discord to be a furious, and perturbed, and unstable Demiurge, [thus] denominating Discord the

[1] Lines 360–362 (ed. Karst.).
[2] Line 7 (Karsten), 381 (Stein).

creator of the world. For this constitutes the condemnation and necessity of souls which Discord forcibly severs from unity, and [which it] fashions and operates upon, [according to Empedocles,] who expresses himself after some such mode as the following:

> "Who perjury piles on sin,
> While dæmons gain a life prolonged;"[1]

meaning by dæmons long-lived souls, because they are immortal, and live for lengthened ages:

> "For thrice ten thousand years banished from bliss;"[2]

denominating as blissful, those that have been collected by Friendship from the majority of entities into the process of unification [arising out] of the intelligible world. He asserts that those are exiles, and that

> "In lapse of time all sorts of mortal men are born,
> Changing the irksome ways of life."[3]

He asserts the irksome ways to be the alterations and transfigurations of souls into [successive] bodies. This is what he says:

> "Changing the irksome ways of life."

For souls "change," body after body being altered, and punished by Discord, and not permitted to continue in the one [frame], but that the souls are involved in all descriptions of punishment by Discord being changed from body to body. He says:

> "Æthereal force to ocean drives the souls,
> And ocean spurts them forth on earth's expanse,
> And earth on beams of blazing sun, who flings
> [The souls] on æther's depths, and each from each
> [A spirit] takes, and all with hatred burn."[4]

This is the punishment which the Demiurge inflicts, just as some brazier moulding [a piece of] iron, and dipping it suc-

[1] Line 4 (Karsten), 372, 373 (Stein).
[2] Line 5 (Karsten), 374 (Stein).
[3] Line 6 (Karsten), 375, 376 (Stein).
[4] Lines 16–19 (Karsten), 377–380 (Stein).

cessively from fire into water. For fire is the æther whence the Demiurge transfers the souls into the sea; and land is the earth: whence he uses the words, from water into earth, and from earth into air. This is what [Empedocles] says:

> "And earth on beams
> Of blazing sun, who flings [the souls]
> On æther's depths, and each from each
> A [spirit] takes, and all with hatred burn."

The souls, then, thus detested, and tormented, and punished in this world, are, according to Empedocles, collected by Friendship as being a certain good [power], and [one] that pities the groaning of these, and the disorderly and wicked device of furious Discord. And [likewise Friendship is] eager, and toils to lead forth little by little the souls from the world, and to domesticate them with unity, in order that all things, being conducted by herself, may attain unto unification. Therefore on account of such an arrangement on the part of destructive Discord of this divided world, Empedocles admonishes his disciples to abstain from all sorts of animal food. For he asserts that the bodies of animals are such as feed on the habitations of punished souls. And he teaches those who are hearers of such doctrines [as his], to refrain from intercourse with women. [And he issues this precept] in order that [his disciples] may not co-operate with and assist those works which Discord fabricates, always dissolving and forcibly severing the work of Friendship. Empedocles asserts that this is the greatest law of the management of the universe, expressing himself somehow thus:

> "There's something swayed by Fate, the ancient,
> Endless law of gods, and sealed by potent oaths."[1]

He thus calls Fate the alteration from unity into plurality, according to Discord, and from plurality into unity, according to Friendship. And, as I stated, [Empedocles asserts] that there are four perishable gods, [viz.] fire, water, earth, [and] air. [He maintains,] however, that there are two [gods] which are immortal, unbegotten, [and] continually hostile one to the other, [namely] Discord and Friendship. And [he asserts]

[1] Lines, 1, 2 (Karsten), 369, 370 (Stein).

that Discord always is guilty of injustice and covetousness, and forcible abduction of the things of Friendship, and of appropriation of them to itself. [He alleges,] however, that Friendship, inasmuch as it is always and invariably a certain good [power], and intent on union, recalls and brings towards [itself], and reduces to unity, the parts of the universe that have been forcibly severed, and tormented, and punished in the creation by the Demiurge. Some such system of philosophy as the foregoing is advanced for us by Empedocles concerning the generation of the world, and its destruction, and its constitution, as one consisting of what is good and bad. And he says that there is likewise a certain third power which is cognised by intellect, and that this can be understood from these, [viz. Discord and Friendship,] expressing himself somehow thus:

> "For if, 'neath hearts of oak, these truths you fix,
> And view them kindly in meditations pure,
> Each one of these, in lapse of time, will haunt you,
> And many others, sprung of these, descend.
> For into every habit these will grow, as Nature prompts;
> But if for other things you sigh, which, countless, linger
> Undisguised 'mid men, and blunt the edge of care,
> As years roll on they'll leave you fleetly,
> Since they yearn to reach their own beloved race;
> For know that all possess perception and a share of mind."[1]

Chapter XVIII.

Source of Marcionism—Empedocles reasserted as the suggester of this Heresy.

When, therefore, Marcion or some one of his hounds barks against the Demiurge, and adduces reasons from a comparison of what is good and bad, we ought to say to them, that neither Paul the apostle nor Mark, he of the maimed finger,[2] an-

[1] The text of these verses, as given by Hippolytus, is obviously corrupt, and therefore obscure. Schneidewin has furnished an emended copy of them (*Philol.* vi. 166), which the translator has mostly adopted. (See Stein's edition of the *Empedoclean Verses*, line 222 et seq.)

[2] ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος. Bunsen considers this a corrupt reading, and suggests καλῶν λόγων διδάσκαλος, *i.e.* "a teacher of good words," *i.e.* an

nounced such [tenets]. For none of these [doctrines] has been written in the Gospel according to Mark. But [the real author of the system] is Empedocles, son of Meto, a native of Agrigentum. And [Marcion] despoiled this [philosopher], and imagined that up to the present would pass undetected his transference, under the same expressions, of the arrangement of his entire heresy from Sicily into the evangelical narratives. For bear with me, O Marcion: as you have instituted a comparison of what is good and evil, I also to-day will institute a comparison following up your own tenets, as you suppose them to be. You affirm that the Demiurge of the world is evil—why not hide your countenance in shame, [as thus] teaching to the Church the doctrines of Empedocles? You say that there is a good Deity who destroys the works of the Demiurge: then do not you plainly preach to your pupils, as the good Deity, the Friendship of Empedocles. You forbid marriage, the procreation of children, [and] the abstaining from meats which God has created for participation by the faithful, and those that know the truth.[1] [Thinkest thou, then,] that thou canst escape detection, [while thus] enjoining the purificatory rites of Empedocles? For in point of fact you follow in every respect this [philosopher of paganism], while you instruct your own disciples to refuse meats, in order not to eat any body [that might be] a remnant of a soul which has been punished by the Demiurge. You dissolve marriages that have been cemented by the Deity. And here again you conform to the tenets of Empedocles, in order that for you the work of Friendship may be perpetuated as one [and] indivisible. For, according to Empedocles, matrimony separates unity, and makes [out of it] plurality, as we have proved.

evangelist, which word, as just used, he does not wish to repeat. The Abbe Cruice denies the necessity for any such emendation, and refers us to an article in the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* (Cambridge, March 1855), the writer of which maintains, on the authority of St. Jerome, that St. Mark had amputated his thumb, in order that he might be considered disqualified for the priesthood.

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 3.

Chapter XIX.

The Heresy of Prepon—follows Empedocles—Marcion rejects the Generation of the Saviour.

The principal heresy of Marcion, and [the one of his] which is most free from admixture [with other heresies], is that which has its system formed out of the theory concerning the good and bad [God]. Now this, it has been manifested by us, belongs to Empedocles. But since at present, in our times, a certain follower of Marcion, [namely] Prepon, an Assyrian,[1] has endeavoured to introduce something more novel, and has given an account of his heresy in a work inscribed to Bardesanes, an Armenian, neither of this will I be silent. In alleging that what is just constitutes a third principle, and that it is placed intermediate between what is good and bad, Prepon of course is not able to avoid [the imputation of inculcating] the opinion of Empedocles. For Empedocles asserts that the world is managed by wicked Discord, and that the other [world] which [is managed] by Friendship, is cognisable by intellect. And [he asserts] that these are the two different principles of good and evil, and that intermediate between these diverse principles is impartial reason, in accordance with which are united the things that have been separated by Discord, [and which,] in accordance with the influence of Friendship, are accommodated to unity. The impartial reason itself, that which is an auxiliary to Friendship, Empedocles denominates "Musa." And he himself likewise entreats her to assist him, and expresses himself somehow thus:

> "For if on fleeting mortals, deathless Muse,
> Thy care it be that thoughts our mind engross,
> Calliope, again befriend my present prayer,
> As I disclose a pure account of happy gods."[2]

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[1] What Hippolytus communicates concerning Prepon is quite new. The only writer who mentions him is Theodoret (*Hær. fab.* i. 25), in his article on Apelles.

[2] Schneidewin gives a restored version of these lines. They are found (at lines 338-341) in Stein's edition of the *Empedoclean Verses.*

Marcion, adopting these sentiments, rejected altogether the generation of our Saviour. He considered it to be absurd that under the [category of a] creature fashioned by destructive Discord should have been the Logos that was an auxiliary to Friendship—that is, the Good Deity. [His doctrine,] however, was that, independent of birth, [the Logos] Himself descended from above in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, and that, as being intermediate between the good and bad Deity, He proceeded to give instruction in the synagogues. For if He[1] is a Mediator, He has been, he says, liberated from the entire nature of the Evil Deity. Now, as he affirms, the Demiurge is evil, and his works. For this reason, he affirms, Jesus came down unbegotten, in order that He might be liberated from all [admixture of] evil. And He has, he says, been liberated from the nature of the Good One likewise, in order that He may be a Mediator, as Paul states,[2] and as Himself acknowledges: "Why call ye me good? there is one good."[3] These, then, are the opinions of Marcion, by means of which he made many his dupes, employing the conclusions of Empedocles. And he transferred the philosophy invented by that [ancient speculator] into his own system of thought, and [out of Empedocles] constructed his [own] impious heresy. But I consider that this has been sufficiently refuted by us, and that I have not omitted any opinion of those who purloin their opinions from the Greeks, and act despitefully towards the disciples of Christ, as if they had become teachers to them of these [tenets]. But since it seems that we have sufficiently explained the doctrines of this [heretic], let us see what Carpocrates says.

[1] Tertullian combats these heretical notions in his *De Carne Christi.*

[2] Gal. iii. 19.

[3] Matt. xix. 17; Mark x. 18; Luke xviii. 19.

Chapter xx.

The Heresy of Carpocrates—Wicked Doctrines concerning Jesus Christ—practise Magical Arts—adopt a Metempsychosis.

Carpocrates[1] affirms that the world and the things in it were made by angels, far inferior to the unbegotten Father; and that Jesus was generated of Joseph, and that, having been born similar to [other] men, He was more just than the rest [of the human race]. And [Carpocrates asserts] that the soul [of Jesus], inasmuch as it was made vigorous and undefiled, remembered the things seen by it in its converse with the unbegotten God. And [Carpocrates maintains] that on this account there was sent down upon [Jesus] by that [God] a power, in order that through it He might be enabled to escape the world-making [angels]. And [he says] that this power, having passed through all, and having obtained liberty in all, again ascended[2] to God [Himself]. And [he alleges] that in the same condition with [the soul of Jesus are all the souls] that embrace similar objects of desire with the [power just alluded to]. And they assert that the soul of Jesus, [though,] according to law, it was disciplined in Jewish customs, [in reality] despised them. And [he says] that on this account [Jesus] received powers whereby He rendered null and void the passions incidental to men for their punishment. And [he argues], therefore, that the [soul], which, similarly with that soul of Christ, is able to despise the world-making Archons, receives in like manner power for the performance of similar acts. Wherefore, also, [according to Carpocrates, there are persons who] have attained unto such a degree of pride as to affirm some of themselves to be equal to Jesus Himself, whereas others among them to be even still more powerful. But [they also contend] that some enjoy an

[1] See Irenæus, i. 24; Tertullian, *De Anima*, c. xxiii.–xxv., and *Præscript.* c. xlviii.; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* iv. 7; Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxvii. sec. 2; Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* i. 5; and St. Augustine, *Hær.* c. vii. The entire of this article is taken from Irenæus, and equally coincides with the account given of Carpocrates by Epiphanius.

[2] Or, "came."

excellence above the disciples of that [Redeemer], for instance Peter and Paul, and the rest of the Apostles, and that these are in no respect inferior to Jesus. And [Carpocrates asserts] that the souls of these have originated from that supernal power, and that consequently they, as equally despising the world-making [angels], have been deemed worthy of the same power, and [of the privilege] to ascend to the same [place]. If, however, any one would despise earthly concerns more than did that [Saviour, Carpocrates says] that such a one would be able to become superior to [Jesus. The followers of this heretic] practise their magical arts and incantations, and spells and voluptuous feasts. And [they are in the habit of invoking the aid of] subordinate demons and dream-senders, and [of resorting to] the rest of the tricks [of sorcery], alleging that they possess power for now acquiring sway over the Archons and makers of this world, nay, even over all the works that are in it.

[Now these heretics] have themselves been sent forth by Satan, for the purpose of slandering before the Gentiles the divine name of the Church. [And the devil's object is,] that men hearing, now after one fashion and now after another, the doctrines of those [heretics], and thinking that all of us are people of the same stamp, may turn away their ears from the preaching of the truth, or that they also, looking, [without abjuring,] upon all the tenets of those [heretics], may speak hurtfully of us. [The followers of Carpocrates] allege that the souls are transferred from body to body, so far as that they may fill up [the measure of] all their sins. When, however, not one [of these sins] is left, [the Carpocratians affirm that the soul] is then emancipated, and departs unto that God above of the world-making angels, and that in this way all souls will be saved. If, however, some [souls], during the presence of the soul in the body for one life, may by anticipation become involved in the full measure of transgressions, they, [according to these heretics,] no longer undergo metempsychosis. [Souls of this sort,] however, on paying off at once all trespasses, will, [the Carpocratians say,] be emancipated from dwelling any more in a body.

Certain, likewise, of these [heretics] brand[1] their own disciples in the posterior parts of the lobe of the right ear. And they make counterfeit images of Christ, alleging that these were in existence at the time [during which our Lord was on earth, and that they were fashioned] by Pilate.[2]

Chapter xxi.

The System of Cerinthus concerning Christ.

But a certain Cerinthus,[3] himself being disciplined in the teaching of the Egyptians, asserted that the world was not made by the primal Deity, but by some virtue which was an offshoot from that Power which is above all things, and which [yet] is ignorant of the God that is above all. And he supposed that Jesus was not generated from a virgin, but that he was born son of Joseph and Mary, just in a manner similar with the rest of men, and that [Jesus] was more just and more wise [than all the human race]. And [Cerinthus alleges] that, after the baptism [of our Lord], Christ in form of a dove came down upon him, from that absolute sovereignty which is above all things. And then, [according to this heretic,] Jesus proceeded to preach the unknown Father,[4] and in attestation [of his mission] to work miracles. It was, however, [the opinion of Cerinthus,] that ultimately Christ departed from Jesus, and that Jesus suffered and rose again; whereas that Christ, being spiritual,[5] remained beyond the possibility of suffering.

[1] Literally, "cauterize."

[2] Epiphanius alludes in the same manner to these images.

[3] See Irenæus, i. 25, iii. 2, 3; Tertullian, *Præscript.* c. xlviii.; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* iii. 28, vii. 25; Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxviii.; Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* ii. 3; St. Augustine, *Hær.* c. viii.; and St. Jerome, *Ep.* lxxxix. We have here, as in the preceding articles, Irenæus in the Greek, as Hippolytus' text corresponds with the Latin version of this portion of Irenæus' work.

[4] Acts xvii. 23.

[5] Or, "paternal."

Chapter xxii.

Doctrine of the Ebionæans.

The Ebionæans,[1] however, acknowledge that the world was made by Him Who is in reality God, but they propound legends concerning the Christ similarly with Cerinthus and Carpocrates. They live conformably to the customs of the Jews, alleging that they are justified according to the law, and saying that Jesus was justified by fulfilling the law. And therefore it was, [according to the Ebionæans,] that [the Saviour] was named [the] Christ of God and Jesus,[2] since not one of the rest [of mankind] had observed completely the law. For if even any other had fulfilled the commandments [contained] in the law, he would have been that Christ. And [the Ebionæans allege] that they themselves also, when in like manner they fulfil [the law], are able to become Christs; for they assert that our Lord Himself was a man in a like sense with all [the rest of the human family].

Chapter xxiii.

The Heresy of Theodotus.

But there was a certain Theodotus,[3] a native of Byzantium, who introduced a novel heresy. He announces tenets concerning the originating cause of the universe, which are partly in keeping with the doctrines of the true Church, in so far as he acknowledges that all things were created by God. Forcibly appropriating, however, [his notions of] Christ from the school of the Gnostics, and of Cerinthus and Ebion, he alleges that [our Lord] appeared in some such manner as I

[1] See Irenæus, i. 26; Tertullian, *Præscript.* c. xlviii.; Origen, *Contr. Cels.* ii. 1; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* iii. 27; Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxx.; and Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* ii. 2. Hippolytus is indebted in this article partly to Irenæus, and partly to original sources.

[2] Or, "that the Christ of God was named Jesus" (Bunsen).

[3] See Tertullian, *Præscript.* c. liii.; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* v. 27; Epiphanius, *Hær.* liv.; and Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* ii. 5. Clemens Alexandrinus seems to have been greatly indebted to Theodotus, whose system he has explained and commented upon.

shall now describe. [According to this, Theodotus maintains] that Jesus was a [mere] man, born of a virgin, according to the counsel of the Father, and that after he had lived promiscuously with all men, and had become pre-eminently religious, he subsequently at his baptism in Jordan received Christ, who came from above and descended [upon him] in form of a dove. And this was the reason, [according to Theodotus,] why [miraculous] powers did not operate within him prior to the manifestation in him of that Spirit which descended, [and] which proclaims him to be the Christ. But [among the followers of Theodotus] some are disposed [to think] that never was this man made God, [even] at the descent of the Spirit; whereas others [maintain that He was made God] after the resurrection from the dead.

Chapter XXIV.

The Melchisedecians—The Nicolaitans.

While, however, different questions have arisen among them, a certain [heretic], who himself also was styled Theodotus, and who was by trade a banker,[1] attempted to establish [the doctrine], that a certain Melchisedec constitutes the greatest power, and that this one is greater than Christ. And they allege that Christ happens to be according to the likeness [of this Melchisedec]. And they themselves, similarly with those who have been previously spoken of as adherents of Theodotus, assert that Jesus is a [mere] man, and that, in conformity with the same account [already given], Christ descended upon him.

There are, however, among the Gnostics diversities of opinion; but we have decided that it would not be worth while to enumerate the silly doctrines of these [heretics], inasmuch as they are [too] numerous and devoid of reason, and full of blasphemy. Now, even those [of the heretics] who are of a more serious turn in regard of[2] the Divinity, and have

[1] Concerning the younger Theodotus, see Tertullian, *Præscript.* c. liii.; Epiphanius, *Hær.* lv.; and Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* ii. 6.

[2] Or, "in reference to" (Bunsen).

derived their systems of speculation from the Greeks, must stand convicted[1] [of these charges]. But Nicolaus[2] has been a cause of the wide-spread combination of these wicked men. He, as one of the seven [that were chosen] for the diaconate, was appointed by the Apostles. [But Nicolaus] departed from correct doctrine, and was in the habit of inculcating indifferency of both life and food.[3] And when the disciples [of Nicolaus] continued to offer insult to the Holy Spirit, John reproved them in the Apocalypse as fornicators and eaters of things offered unto idols.[4]

Chapter xxv.

The Heresy of Cerdon.

But one Cerdon[5] himself also, taking occasion in like manner from these [heretics] and Simon, affirms that the God preached by Moses and the prophets was not Father of Jesus Christ. For [he contends] that this [Father] had been known, whereas that the Father of Christ[6] was unknown, and that the former was just, but the latter good. And Marcion corroborated the tenet of this [heretic] in the work which he attempted to write, and which he styled *Antitheses*.[7] And he was in the habit, [in this book,] of uttering whatever slanders suggested themselves to his mind against the Creator of the universe. In a similar manner likewise [acted] Lucian,[8] the disciple of this [heretic].

[1] Or, "have been adduced" (Miller).

[2] See Irenæus, i. 26; Tertullian, *Præscript.* c. xlvi.; Epiphanius, *Hær.* c. xxv.; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* iii. 29; Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* i. 15; and St. Augustine, *Hær.* c. v.

[3] Or, "knowledge." Bunsen suggests *βρώσεως*, as translated above.

[4] Rev. ii. 6.

[5] Irenæus, i. 27; Eusebius (who here gives Irenæus' Greek), *Hist. Ecclesiast.* iv. 2; Epiphanius, c. xli.; Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* i. 24; and Philastrius, c. xliv.

[6] Hippolytus follows Irenæus, but introduces some alterations.

[7] Ἀντιθέσεις. This is the emendation proposed by the Abbe Cruice The textual reading is ἀντιπαραθέσεις (comparisons).

[8] See Tertullian, *Præscript.* c. li., and Epiphanius, *Hær.* c. xliii.

Chapter XXVI.

The Doctrines of Apelles—Philumene, his Prophetess.

But Apelles,[1] sprung from these, thus expresses himself, [saying] that there is a certain good Deity, as also Marcion supposed, and that he who created all things is just. Now he, [according to Apelles,] was the Demiurge of generated entities. And [this heretic also maintains] that there is a third [Deity], the one who was in the habit of speaking to Moses, and that this [god] was of a fiery nature, and that there was another fourth god, a cause of evils. But these he denominates angels. He utters, however, slanders against law and prophets, by alleging that the things that have been written are [of] human [origin], and are false. And [Apelles] selects from the Gospels or [from the writings of] the Apostle [Paul] whatever pleases himself. But he devotes himself to the discourses of a certain Philumene as to the revelations[2] of a prophetess. He affirms, however, that Christ descended from the power above; that is, from the good [Deity], and that he is the son of that good [Deity]. And [he asserts that Jesus] was not born of a virgin, and that when he did appear he was not devoid of flesh. [He maintains,] however, that [Christ] formed his body by taking portions of it from the substance of the universe: that is, hot and cold, and moist and dry. And [he says that Christ], on receiving in this body cosmical powers, lived for the time he did in [this] world. But [he held that Jesus] was subsequently crucified by the Jews, and expired, and that, being raised up after three days, he appeared to his disciples. And [the Saviour] showed them, [so Apelles taught,] the prints of the nails and [the wound] in his side, desirous of persuading them that he was in truth no phantom, but was present in

[1] See Tertullian, *Præscript.* c. xxx.; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* v. 13; Epiphanius, *Hær.* c. xliv.; Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* i. 25; and St. Augustine, *Hær.* c. xxiv.

[2] φανερώσεσι. Miller's text reads φανερῶς, the error of which is obvious from Tertullian's *Præscript.* c. xxx. Cruice considers the word to signify the title of a work written by Apelles.

the flesh. After, says [Apelles], he had shown them his flesh, [the Saviour] restored it to earth, from which substance it was [derived. And this he did because] he coveted nothing that belonged to another. [Though indeed Jesus] might use for the time being [what belonged to another], he yet in due course rendered to each [of the elements] what peculiarly belonged to them. And so it was, that after he had once more loosed the chains of his body, he gave back heat to what is hot, cold to what is cold, moisture to what is moist, [and] dryness to what is dry. And in this condition [our Lord] departed to the good Father, leaving the seed of life in the world for those who through His disciples should believe in Him.

It appears to us that these [tenets] have been sufficiently explained. Since, however, we have determined to leave unrefuted not one of those opinions that have been advanced by any [of the heretics], let us see what [system] also has been invented by the Docetæ.

BOOK VIII.[1]

OF THE

REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES.

CONTENTS.

THE following are the contents of the eighth book of the *Refutation of all Heresies* :—

What are the opinions of the Docetæ, and that they have formed the doctrines which they assert from natural philosophy.

How Monoïmus [2] trifles, devoting his attention to poets, and geometricians, and arithmeticians.

How [the system of] Tatian has arisen from the opinions of Valentinus and Marcion, and how this heretic [from this source] has formed his own doctrines. Hermogenes, however, availed himself of the tenets of Socrates, not those of Christ.

How those err who contend for keeping Easter on the fourteenth day.

What the error is of the Phrygians, who suppose that Montanus, and Priscilla, and Maximilla, are prophets.

What the conceit is of the Encratites, and that their opinions have been formed not from the Holy Scriptures, but from themselves, and the Gymnosophists among the Indians.

[1] Much that we have in this book is quite new. Hippolytus derives his article on Tatian, and in a measure that on the Encratites, from Irenæus. The rest is probably from original sources.

[2] Or, "Noimus."

Chapter i.

Heresies hitherto refuted—Opinions of the Docetæ.

Since the great body of [the heretics] do not employ the counsel of the Lord, by having the beam in the eye,[1] and announce that they see when in reality labouring under blindness, it seems to us expedient in no wise to be silent concerning the tenets of these. Our object is, that by the refutation accomplished by us, the [heretics], being of themselves ashamed, may be brought to know how the Saviour has advised [men] first to take away the beam, then to behold clearly the mote that is in thy brother's eye. Having therefore adequately and sufficiently explained the doctrines of the majority [of the heretics] in the seven books before this, we shall not now be silent as regards the [heterodox] opinions that follow [from these]. We shall by this means exhibit the abundance of the grace of the Holy Spirit; and we shall refute those [who suppose] that they have acquired stedfastness of doctrine, when it is only in appearance. Now these have styled themselves Docetæ,[2] and propound the following opinions:—

[The Docetæ maintain] that God is the primal [Being], as it were a seed of a fig-tree, which is altogether very diminutive in size, but infinite in power. [This seed constitutes, according to the Docetæ,] a lowly magnitude, incalculable in multitude,[3] [and] labouring under no deficiency as regards generation. [This seed is] a refuge for the terror-stricken, a shelter of the naked, a veil for modesty, [and] the sought-

[1] Matt. vii. 3, 4; Luke vi. 41, 42.

[2] See Irenæus, v. 1; Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* v. 12; and Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* iii.), who informs us that Julius Cassianus—a pupil of Valentinus—was founder of the Docetic heresy.

[3] Miller's text reads ταπεινὸν (lowly), but this is obviously untenable. Duncker alters it into ἄπειρον (infinite), and joins ταπεινὸν with the word following. He renders the passage thus: "but infinite in power—a lowly magnitude." Cruice strikes out the word ταπεινὸν, and renders the passage thus: "but infinite in power, a magnitude incalculable in bulk." The above rendering seems to convey Hippolytus' meaning.

for produce, to which He came in search [for fruit], he says, three times,[1] and did not discover [any]. Wherefore, he says, He cursed the fig-tree,[2] because He did not find upon it that sweet fruit—the sought-for produce. And inasmuch as the Deity is, according to them—to express myself briefly—of this description and so great, that is, small and minute, the world, as it seems to them, was made in some such manner as the following: When the branches of the fig-tree became tender, leaves budded [first], as one may [generally] see, and next in succession the fruit. Now, in this [fruit] is preserved treasured the infinite and incalculable seed of the fig-tree. We think, therefore, [say the Docetæ,] that there are three [parts] which are primarily produced by the seed of the fig-tree, [viz.] stem, which constitutes the fig-tree, leaves, and fruit—the fig itself, as we have previously declared. In this manner, the [Docetic] affirms, have been produced three Æons, which are principles from the primal originating cause of the universe. And Moses has not been silent on this point, when he says, that there are three words of God, "darkness, gloom, tempest, and added no more."[3] For the [Docetic] says, God has made no addition to the three Æons; but these, in every respect, have been sufficient for [the exigencies of] those who have been begotten and are sufficient. God Himself, however, remains with Himself, far separated from the three Æons. When each of these Æons had obtained an originating cause of generation, he grew, as has been declared, by little and little, and [by degrees] was magnified, and [ultimately] became perfect. But they think that that is perfect which is reckoned at ten. When, therefore, the Æons had become equal in number and in perfection, they were, as [the Docetæ] are of opinion, constituted thirty Æons in all, while each of them attains full perfection in a decade. And the three are mutually distinct, and hold one [degree of] honour relatively to one another,

[1] Or, "the Lord came in search of fruit" (Roeper). The reading followed in the translation agrees with the scriptural account; see Luke xiii. 7.

[2] Matt. xxi. 19, 20; Mark xi. 13, 14, 20, 21. [3] Deut. v. 22.

differing in position merely, because one of them is first, and the other second, and the other of these third. Position, however, afforded them diversity of power. For he who has obtained a position nearest to the primal Deity—who is, as it were, a seed—possessed a more productive power than the rest, inasmuch as he himself who is the immeasurable one, measured himself tenfold in bulk. He, however, who in position is second to the primal Deity, has, inasmuch as he is the incomprehensible one, comprehended himself sixfold. But he who is now third in position is conveyed to an infinite distance, in consequence of the dilatation of his brethren. [And when this third Æon] had thrice realized himself in thought, he encircled himself with, as it were, some eternal chain of union.

Chapter ii.

Docetic Notion of the Incarnation—their Doctrines of Æons—their Account of Creation—their Notion of a fiery God.

And these [heretics] suppose that this is what is spoken by the Saviour: "A sower went forth to sow; and that which fell on the fair and good ground produced, some a hundred-fold, and some sixty-fold, and some thirty-fold."[1] And for this reason, the [Docetic] says, [that the Saviour] has spoken the words, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear," because these [truths] are not altogether rumours. All these Æons, both the three and all those infinite [Æons which proceed] from these indefinitely, are hermaphrodite Æons. All these, then, after they had been increased and magnified, and had sprung from that one primary seed, [were actuated by a spirit] of concord and union, and they all coalesced into one Æon. And in this manner they begot of a single virgin, Mary,[2] a joint offspring, who is a Mediator,

[1] Matt. xiii. 3–8; Mark iv. 3–8; Luke viii. 5–8.

[2] The word Mary seems interpolated. Miller's text reads it after ἐν μεσότητι. The passage would then be rendered thus: "that is, Him who through the intervention of Mary [has been born into the world] the Saviour of all."

[that is,] the Saviour of all who are in the [covenant of] mediation. [And this Saviour is,] in every respect, coequal in power with the seed of the fig-tree, with the exception that he was generated. Whereas that primary seed, from whence the fig-tree sprung, is unbegotten. When, therefore, those three Æons were adorned with all virtue and with all sanctity, so these teachers suppose, as well as that only begotten child (for he alone was begotten by those infinite Æons from three immediately concerned in his birth, for three immeasurable Æons being unanimous procreated him); —[after, I say, the Æons and only Son were thus adorned,] the entire nature, which is cognised by intellect, was fashioned free from deficiency. Now, all those intelligible and eternal [entities] constituted light. Light, however, was not devoid of form, nor inoperative, nor in want, as it were, of the assistance of any [other power]. But [light] proportionately with the multitude of those infinite [Æons] indefinitely [generated] in conformity with the exemplar of the fig-tree, possesses in itself infinite species of various animals indigenous to that quarter of creation, and it shone down upon the underlying chaos. And when this [chaos] was simultaneously illuminated, and had form imparted to it by those diversified species from above, it derived [thereby] solidity, and acquired all those supernal species from the third Æon, who had made himself threefold.

This third Æon, however, beholding all his own distinctive attributes laid hold on collectively by the underlying darkness [which was] beneath, and not being ignorant of the power of darkness, and at the same time of the security[1] and profusion of light, did not allow his brilliant attributes [which he derived] from above for any length of time to be snatched away by the darkness beneath. But [he acted in quite a contrary manner], for he subjected [darkness] to the Æons. After, then, he had formed the firmament over the nether world, "he both divided the darkness from the light, and called the light which was above the firmament day, and the

[1] Τὸ ἀσφαλὲς: Cruice reads, on the authority of Bernays, ἀφελὲς, *i.e.* the simplicity.

darkness he called night."[1] When all the infinite species, then, as I have said, of the third Æon were intercepted in this the lowest darkness, the figure also of the Æon himself, such as he has been described, was impressed [upon them] along with the rest [of his attributes]. [Now this figure is] a life-giving fire, which is generated from light, from whence the Great Archon originated. And respecting this [Archon] Moses observes: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth."[2] Moses mentions[3] this fiery God as having spoken from the bush,[4] [batos,] that is, from the darkish air. For the whole of the atmosphere that underlies the darkness is [batos, *i.e.*] a medium for the transmission of light. Now Moses has employed, says [the Docetic], the expression batos, because all the species of light pass down from above by means of their having the atmosphere as a medium [batos] of transmission. And in no less degree is capable of being recognised the Word of Jehovah addressed to us from the bush [batos, *i.e.* an atmospheric medium]; for voice, as significant [in language] of a meaning, is a reverberation of air, and without this [atmosphere] human speech is incapable of being recognised. And not only the Word [of Jehovah addressed] to us from the bush [batos], that is, the air, legislates and is a fellow-citizen with [us]; but [it does more than this], for both odours and colours manifest to us, through the medium of air, their own [peculiar] qualities.

Chapter iii.

Christ undoes the Work of the Demiurge—Docetic Account of the Baptism and Death of Jesus—why He lived for Thirty Years on Earth.

This fiery Deity, then, after he became fire from light, proceeded to create the world in the manner which Moses describes. He Himself, however, as devoid of subsistence, employs the darkness as [His] substance, and perpetually insults those eternal attributes of light which, [being] from

[1] Gen. i. 4, 5, 7. [2] Gen. i. 1. [3] Ex. iii. 2.

[4] The Docetæ here attempted to substantiate their system from Scripture by a play upon words.

above, had been laid hold on by [the darkness] beneath. Up to the time, therefore, of the appearance of the Saviour, there prevailed, by reason of the Deity of fiery light, [that is,] the Demiurge, a certain extensive delusion of souls. For the species are styled souls, because they are refrigerations[1] from the [Æons] above, and continue in darkness. But when [the souls] are altered from bodies to bodies, they remain under the guardianship of the Demiurge. And that these things are so, says [the Docetic], it is possible also to perceive from Job, when he uses the following words: "And I am a wanderer, changing both place after place, and house after house."[2] And [we may learn, according to the Docetæ, the same] from the expressions of the Saviour, "And if ye will receive it, this is Elias that was for to come. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."[3] But by the instrumentality of the Saviour this transference of souls from body to body was made to cease, and faith is preached for remission of sins. After some such manner, that only-begotten Son, when He gazes upon the forms of the supernal Æons, which were transferred from above into darkish bodies, coming down, wished to descend and deliver them. When [the Son], however, became aware that the Æons, those [that subsist] collectively, are unable to behold the Pleroma of all the Æons, but that in a state of consternation they fear lest they may undergo corruption as being themselves perishable, and that they are overwhelmed by the magnitude and splendour of power;—[when the Son, I say, perceived this,] He contracted Himself—as it were a very great flash in a very small body, nay, rather as a ray of vision condensed beneath the eyelids, and [in this condition] He advances forth as far

[1] The Greek word for soul is derived from the same root as that for refrigeration.

[2] These words are spoken of the wife of Job, as the feminine form, πλανῆτις and λάτρις, proves. They have been added from apocryphal sources to the Greek version (ii. 9), but are absent from the English translation. The passage stands thus: καὶ ἐγὼ πλανῆτις καὶ λάτρις τόπον ἐκ τόπου περιερχομένη καὶ οἰκίαν ἐξ οἰκίας. The Abbe Cruice refers to St. Chrysostom's *Hom. de Statuis.*

[3] Matt. xi. 14, 15.

as heaven and the effulgent stars. And in this quarter of creation He again collects himself beneath the lids of vision according as He wishes it. Now the light of vision accomplishes the same effect; for though it is everywhere, and [renders visible] all things, it is yet imperceptible to us. We, however, merely see lids of vision, white corners [of the eye], a tissue which is broad, tortuous,[1] [and] exceedingly fibrous, a membrane of the cornea; and underneath this, the pupil, which is shaped as a berry, is net-like and round. [And we observe] whatever other membranes there are that belong to the light of the eye, and enveloped in which it lies concealed.

Thus, says [the Docetic], the only-begotten [and] eternal Child from above arrayed Himself in a form to correspond with each individual Æon of the three Æons;[2] and while he was within the triacontad of Æons, He entered into this world[3] just as we have described Him, unnoticed, unknown, obscure, and disbelieved. In order, therefore, say the Docetæ, that He may be clad in the darkness that is prevalent in more distant quarters of creation—[now by darkness he means] flesh—an angel journeyed with Him from above, and announced the glad tidings to Mary, says [the Docetic], as it has been written. And the [child] from her was born, as it has been written. And He who came from above put on that which was born; and so did He all things, as it has been written [of Him] in the Gospels. He washed in Jordan, and when He was baptized He received a figure and a seal in the water of [another spiritual body beside] the body born of the Virgin. [And the object of this was,] when the Archon condemned his own peculiar figment [of flesh] to death, [that is,] to the cross, that that soul which had been nourished in the body [born of the Virgin] might strip off that body and nail it to the [accursed] tree. [In this way the soul] would triumph by means of this [body] over principalities and powers,[4] and would not be found naked, but would,

[1] Or, "a fleshly membrane." [2] Miller reads, "of the third Æon."

[3] The Abbe Cruice considers that the mention of the period of our Lord's birth has accidentally dropt out of the MS. here. (See book vii. chap. xix.)

[4] Col. ii. 11, 14, 15.

instead of that flesh, assume the [other] body, which had been represented in the water when he was being baptized. This is, says [the Docetic], what the Saviour affirms: "Except a man be born of water and spirit, he will not enter into the kingdom of heaven, because that which is born of the flesh is flesh."[1] From the thirty Æons, therefore, [the Son] assumed thirty forms. And for this reason that eternal One existed for thirty years on the earth, because each Æon was in a peculiar manner manifested during [his own] year. And the souls are all those forms that have been laid hold on by each of the thirty Æons; and each of these is so constituted as to discern Jesus, who is of a nature [similar to their own]. [And it was the nature of this Jesus] which that only-begotten and eternal One assumed from everlasting places. These [places], however, are diverse. Consequently a proportionate number of heresies, with the utmost emulation, seek Jesus. Now all these heresies have their own peculiar Jesus; but he is seen differently according as the place[2] is different towards which, he says, each soul is borne and hastens. [Now each soul] supposes that [the Jesus seen from its particular place] is alone that [Jesus] who is its own peculiar kinsman and fellow-citizen. And on first beholding [this Jesus, that soul] recognises Him as its own peculiar brother, but the rest as bastards. Those, then, that derive their nature from the places below, are not able to see the forms of the Saviour which are above them. Those, however, he says, who are from above, from the intermediate decade and the most excellent ogdoad—whence, say [the Docetæ], we are—have themselves known not in part, but entirely, Jesus the Saviour. And those, who are from above, are alone perfect, but all the rest are only partially so.

Chapter IV.

The Docetic Doctrine derived from the Greek Sophists.

These [statements], therefore, I consider sufficient to properly-constituted minds for the purpose of attaining unto a

[1] John iii. 5, 6.

[2] Miller's text has "type."

knowledge of the complicated and unstable heresy of the Docetæ. [But] those who have propounded attempted arguments about inaccessible and incomprehensible Matter, have styled themselves Docetæ. Now, we consider that some of these are acting foolishly, we will not say in appearance, but in reality. At all events, we have proved that a beam from such matter is carried in the eye, if by any means they may be enabled to perceive it. If, however, they do not [discern it, our object is] that they should not make others blind. But the fact is, that the sophists of the Greeks in ancient times have previously devised, in many particulars, the doctrines of these [Docetæ], as it is possible for my readers [who take the trouble] to ascertain. These, then, are the opinions propounded by the Docetæ. As to what likewise, however, are the tenets of Monoïmus, we shall not be silent.

Chapter v.

Monoïmus—Man the Universe, according to Monoïmus—his System of the Monad.

Monoïmus[1] the Arabian was far removed from the glory of the high-sounding poet. [For Monoïmus] supposes that there is some such man as the poet [calls] Oceanus, expressing himself somehow thus:

"Oceanus, source of gods and source of men."[2]

Changing these [sentiments] into other words, Monoïmus says that man is the universe. Now the universe is the originating cause of all things, unbegotten, incorruptible, [and] eternal. And [he says] that the son of [the] man previously spoken of is begotten, and subject to passion, [and] that he is generated independently of time, [as well as] undesignedly,[3] [and] without being predestinated. For such, he says, is the power of that man. And he being thus

[1] What is given here by Hippolytus respecting Monoïmus is quite new. The only writer that mentions him is Theodoret (*Hær. fab.* i. 18).

[2] *Iliad*, xiv. 201, 246.

[3] Or, "kinglessly," which has no meaning here. Miller therefore alters ἀβασιλεύτως into ἀβουλήτως.

constituted in power, [Monoïmus alleges] that the son was born quicker than thought and volition. And this, he says, is what has been spoken in the Scriptures, "He was, and was generated."[1] And the meaning of this is: Man was, and his son was generated; just as one may say, Fire was, and, independently of time, and undesignedly, and without being predestinated, light was generated simultaneously with the existence of the fire. And this man constitutes a single monad, which is uncompounded and indivisible, [and yet at the same time] compounded [and] divisible. [And this monad is] in all respects friendly [and] in all respects peaceful; in all respects quarrelsome [and] in all respects contentious with itself, dissimilar [and] similar. [This monad is likewise,] as it were, a certain musical harmony, which comprises all things in itself, as many as one may express and may omit when not considering; and it manifests all things, and generates all things. This [is] Mother, this [is] Father—two immortal names. As an illustration, however, consider, he says, as a greatest image of the perfect man, the one jot—that one tittle. And this one tittle is an uncompounded, simple, and pure monad, which derives its composition from nothing at all. [And yet this tittle is likewise] compounded, multiform, branching into many sections, and consisting of many parts. That one indivisible tittle is, he says, one tittle of the [letter] iota, with many faces, and innumerable eyes, and countless names, and this [tittle] is an image of that perfect invisible man.

Chapter VI.

Monoïmus' "Iota"—his Notion of the "Son of Man."

The monad, [that is,] the one tittle, is[2] therefore, he says, also a decade. For by the actual power of this one tittle, are produced duad, and triad, and tetrad, and pentad, and

[1] An allusion is evidently made to the opening chapter of St. John's Gospel. Monoïmus, like Basilides, seems to have formed his system from the prologue to the fourth Gospel.

[2] The iota with a little mark placed above, signifies ten; thus, ι′ = 10.

hexad, and heptad, and ogdoad, and ennead, up to ten. For these numbers, he says, are capable of many divisions, and they reside in that simple and uncompounded single tittle of the iota. And this is what has been declared: "It pleased [God] that all fulness should dwell in the Son of man bodily."[1] For such compositions of numbers out of the simple and uncompounded one tittle of the iota become, he says, corporeal realities. The Son of man, therefore, he says, has been generated from the perfect man, whom no one knew; every creature who is ignorant of the Son, however, forms an idea of Him as the offspring of a woman. And certain very obscure rays of this Son which approach this world, check and control alteration [and] generation. And the beauty of that Son of man is up to the present incomprehensible to all men, as many as are deceived in reference to the offspring of the woman. Therefore nothing, he says, of the things that are in our quarter of creation has been produced by that man, nor will aught [of these] ever be [generated from him]. All things, however, have been produced, not from the entirety, but from some part of that Son of man. For he says the Son of man is a jot in one tittle, which proceeds from above, is full, and completely replenishes all [rays flowing down from above]. And it comprises in itself whatever things the man also possesses [who is] the Father of the Son of man.

Chapter vii.

Monoïmus on the Sabbath—allegorizes the Rod of Moses—Notion concerning the Decalogue.

The world, then, as Moses says, was made in six days, that is, by six powers, which [are inherent] in the one tittle of the iota. [But] the seventh [day, which is] a rest and Sabbath, has been produced from the Hebdomad, which is over earth, and water, and fire, and air. And from these [elements] the world has been formed by the one tittle. For cubes, and octahedrons, and pyramids, and all figures similar to these,

[1] Col. i. 19.

out of which consist fire, air, water, [and] earth, have arisen from numbers which are comprehended in that simple tittle of the iota. And this [tittle] constitutes a perfect son of a perfect man. When, therefore, he says, Moses mentions that the rod was changeably brandished for the [introduction of the] plagues throughout Egypt [1]—now these plagues, he says, are allegorically expressed symbols of the creation [2]—he did not [as a symbol] for more plagues than ten shape the rod. Now this [rod] constitutes one tittle of the iota, and is [both] twofold [and] various. This succession of ten plagues is, he says, the mundane creation. For all things, by being stricken, bring forth and bear fruit, just like vines. Man, he says, bursts forth, and is forcibly separated from man by being severed by a certain stroke. [And this takes place] in order that [man] may be generated, and may declare the law which Moses ordained, who received [it] from God. Conformably [3] with that one tittle, the law constitutes the series of the ten commandments which expresses allegorically the divine mysteries of [those] precepts. For, he says, all knowledge of the universe is contained in what relates to the succession of the ten plagues and the series of the ten commandments. And no one is acquainted with this [knowledge] who is [of the number] of those that are deceived concerning the offspring of the woman. If, however, you say that the Pentateuch constitutes the entire law, it is from the Pentad which is comprehended in the one tittle. But the entire is for those who have not been altogether perfected in understanding a mystery, a new and not antiquated feast, legal, [and] everlasting, a passover of the Lord God kept unto our generations, by those who are able to discern [this mystery], at the commencement of the fourteenth day, which is the

[1] Ex. vii. viii.

[2] The plagues being transformations, were no doubt considered symbols of creation, in accordance with the view of the ancient philosophers, that creation itself brought nothing into existence, but simply altered the disposition of already existing elements.

[3] It is very much after this allegorical mode that Philo Judæus interprets the Mosaic law and history.

beginning of a decade from which, he says, they reckon. For the monad, as far as fourteen, is the summary of that one [tittle] of the perfect number. For one, two, three, four, become ten; and this is the one tittle. But from fourteen until one-and-twenty, he asserts that there is an Hebdomad which inheres in the one tittle of the world, and constitutes an unleavened creature in all these. For in what respect, he says, would the one tittle require any substance such as leaven [derived] from without for the Lord's Passover, the eternal feast, which is given for generation upon generation? For the entire world and all causes of creation constitute a passover, [*i.e.*] a feast of the Lord. For God rejoices in the conversion of the creation, and this is accomplished by ten strokes of the one tittle. And this [tittle] is Moses' rod, which was given by God into the hand of Moses. And with this [rod Moses] smites the Egyptians, for the purpose of altering bodies,—as, for instance, water into blood; and the rest of [material] things similarly with these,—[as, for example,] the locusts, which is a symbol of grass. And by this he means the alteration of the elements into flesh; "for all flesh," he says, "is grass."[1] These men, nevertheless, receive even the entire law after some such manner; adopting very probably, as I think, the opinions of those of the Greeks who affirm that there are Substance, and Quality, and Quantity, and Relation, and Place, and Time, and Position, and Action, and Possession, and Passion.

Chapter VIII.

Monoïmus explains his Opinions in a Letter to Theophrastus—where to find God—his System derived from Pythagoras.

Monoïmus himself, accordingly, in his letter to Theophrastus, expressly makes the following statement: "Omitting to seek after God, and creation, and things similar to these, seek for Him from [out of] thyself, and learn who it is that absolutely appropriates [unto Himself] all things in thee, and says, 'My God [is] my mind, my understanding,

[1] Isa. xl. 6.

my soul, my body.' And learn from whence are sorrow, and joy, and love, and hatred, and involuntary wakefulness, and involuntary drowsiness, and involuntary anger, and involuntary affection; and if," he says, "you accurately investigate these [points], you will discover [God] Himself, unity and plurality, in thyself, according to that tittle, and that He finds the outlet [for Deity] to be from thyself." Those [heretics], then, [have made] these [statements]. But we are under no necessity of comparing such [doctrines] with what have previously been subjects of meditation on the part of the Greeks, inasmuch as the assertions advanced by these [heretics] evidently derive their origin from geometrical and arithmetical art. The disciples, however, of Pythagoras, expounded this [art] after a more excellent method,[1] as our readers may ascertain by consulting those passages [of our work] in which we have previously furnished expositions of the entire wisdom of the Greeks. But since the heresy of Monoïmus has been sufficiently refuted, let us see what are the fictitious doctrines which the rest also [of these heretics] devise, in their desire to set up for themselves an empty name.

Chapter IX.

Tatian.

Tatian,[2] however, although being himself a disciple of Justinus the Martyr, did not entertain similar opinions with his master. But he attempted [to establish] certain novel [tenets], and affirmed that there existed certain invisible Æons. And he framed a legendary account [of them], similarly to those [spoken of] by Valentinus. And similarly with Marcion, he asserts that marriage is destruction. But he alleges that Adam is not saved on account of his having been the author of disobedience. And so far for the doctrines of Tatian.

[1] Literally, "nobly born."

[2] See Irenæus, i. 30; Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* iv. 16, v. 13; Epiphanius, *Hær.* xlvi.; Jerome, *Vir. Illustr.* c. xxix.; and Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* i. 20.

Chapter x.

Hermogenes—adopts the Socratic Philosophy—his Notion concerning the Birth and Body of our Lord.

But a certain Hermogenes,[1] himself also imagining that he propounded some novel opinion, said that God made all things out of coeval and ungenerated matter. For that it was impossible that God could make generated things out of things that are not. And that God is always Lord, and always Creator, and matter always a subservient [substance], and that which is assuming phases of being—not, however, the whole of it. For when it was being continually moved in a rude and disorderly manner, He reduced [matter] into order by the following expedient. As He gazed [upon matter] in a seething condition, like [the contents of] a pot when a fire is burning underneath, He effected a partial separation. And taking one portion from the whole, He subdued it, but another He allowed to be whirled in a disorderly manner. And he asserts that what was [thus] subdued is the world, but that another portion remains wild, and is denominated chaotic[2] matter. He asserts that this constitutes the substance of all things, as if introducing a novel tenet for his disciples. He does not, however, reflect that this happens to be the Socratic discourse, which [indeed] is worked out more elaborately by Plato than by Hermogenes. He acknowledges, however, that Christ is the Son of the God who created all things; and along with [this admission], he confesses that he was born of a virgin and of [the] Spirit, according to the voice of the Gospels. And [Hermogenes maintains that Christ], after His passion, was raised up in a body, and that He appeared to His disciples, and that as He went up into heaven He left His body in the sun, but that He Himself proceeded on to the Father. Now [Hermogenes] resorts to testimony, thinking to support himself

[1] See Tertullian, *Præscript.* c. viii. xxx.; Origen, Περὶ ἀρχ. i. 2; Eusebius, *De Præp.* vii. 8, 9; St. Augustine, *Hær.* lix.; Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* i. 19; and Philastrius, *Hær.* lv.

[2] Literally, "unadorned."

by what is spoken, [viz.] what the Psalmist David says: "In the sun he hath placed his tabernacle, and himself [is] as a bridegroom coming forth from his nuptial chamber, [and] he will rejoice as a giant to run his course."[1] These, then, are the opinions which also Hermogenes attempted to establish.

Chapter XI.

The Quartodecimans.

And certain other [heretics], contentious by nature, [and] wholly uninformed as regards knowledge, as well as in their manner more [than usually] quarrelsome, combine [in maintaining] that Easter should be kept on the fourteenth day[2] of the first month, according to the commandment of the law, on whatever day [of the week] it should occur. [But in this] they only regard what has been written in the law, that he will be accursed who does not so keep [the commandment] as it is enjoined. They do not, however, attend to this [fact], that the legal enactment was made for Jews, who in times to come should kill the real Passover.[3] And this [paschal sacrifice, in its efficacy,] has spread unto the Gentiles, and is discerned by faith, and not now observed in letter [merely]. They attend to this one commandment, and do not look unto what has been spoken by the apostle: "For I testify to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to keep the whole law."[4] In other respects, however, these consent to all the traditions delivered to the Church by the Apostles.

[1] Ps. xix. 4, 5.

[2] They were therefore called "Quartodecimans." (See Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* v. c. xxii. xxv.; Epiphanius, *Hær.* L.; and Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* iii. 4.)

[3] The chapter on the Quartodecimans agrees with the arguments which, we are informed in an extract from Hippolytus' *Chronicon Paschale*, as preserved in a quotation by Bishop Peter of Alexandria, were employed in his *Treatise against all Heresies*. This would seem irrefragable proof of the authorship of the *Refutation of all Heresies*.

[4] Gal. v. 3.

Chapter xii.

The Montanists—Priscilla and Maximilla their Prophetesses—some of them Noetians.

But there are others who themselves are even more heretical in nature [than the foregoing], and are Phrygians[1] by birth. These have been rendered victims of error from being previously captivated by [two] wretched women, called a certain Priscilla and Maximilla, whom they supposed [to be] prophetesses. And they assert that into these the Paraclete Spirit had departed; and antecedently to them, they in like manner consider Montanus as a prophet. And being in possession of an infinite number of their books, [the Phrygians] are overrun with delusion; and they do not judge whatever statements are made by them, according to [the criterion of] reason; nor do they give heed unto those who are competent to decide; but they are heedlessly swept onwards, by the reliance which they place on these [impostors]. And they allege that they have learned something more through these, than from law, and prophets, and the Gospels. But they magnify these wretched women above the Apostles and every gift of Grace, so that some of them presume to assert that there is in them a something superior to Christ. These acknowledge God to be the Father of the universe, and Creator of all things, similarly with the Church, and [receive] as many things as the Gospel testifies concerning Christ. They introduce, however, the novelties of fasts,[2] and feasts, and meals of parched food, and repasts of radishes, alleging that they have been instructed by women. And some of these assent to the heresy

[1] These heretics had several denominations: (1) Phrygians and Cataphrygians, from Phrygia; (2) Pepuzians, from a village in Phrygia of this name; (3) Priscillianists; (4) Quintillists. (See Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* iv. 27, v. 16, 18; Epiphanius, *Hær.* xlviii.; Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* iii. 2; Philastrius, xlix.; and St. Augustine, *Hær.* xxvi.)

[2] Bunsen thinks that Hippolytus is rather meagre in his details of the heresy of the Phrygians or Montanists, but considers this, with other instances, a proof that parts of *The Refutation* are only abstracts of more extended accounts.

of the Noetians, and affirm that the Father himself is the Son, and that this [one] came under generation, and suffering, and death. Concerning these I shall again offer an explanation, after a more minute manner; for the heresy of these has been an occasion of evils to many. We therefore are of opinion, that the statements made concerning these [heretics] are sufficient, when we shall have briefly proved to all that the majority of their books are silly, and their attempts [at reasoning] weak, and worthy of no consideration. But it is not necessary for those who possess a sound mind to pay attention [either to their volumes or their arguments].

Chapter XIII.

The Doctrines of the Encratites.

Others, however, styling themselves Encratites, acknowledge some things concerning God and Christ in like manner with the Church. In respect, however, of their mode of life, they pass their days inflated with pride. They suppose that by meats they magnify themselves, while abstaining from animal food, [and] being water-drinkers, and forbidding to marry, and devoting themselves during the remainder of life to habits of asceticism. But persons of this description are estimated Cynics rather than Christians, inasmuch as they do not attend unto the words spoken against them through the Apostle Paul. Now he, predicting the novelties that were to be hereafter introduced ineffectually by certain [heretics], made a statement thus: "The Spirit speaketh expressly, In the latter times certain will depart from sound doctrine, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, uttering falsehoods in hypocrisy, having their own conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, to abstain from meats, which God has created to be partaken of with thanksgiving by the faithful, and those who know the truth; because every creature of God is good, and nothing to be rejected which is received with thanksgiving; for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer."[1] This

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 1–5.

voice, then, of the blessed Paul, is sufficient for the refutation of those who live in this manner, and plume themselves on being just; [and] for the purpose of proving that also, this [tenet of the Encratites] constitutes a heresy. But even though there have been denominated certain other heresies—I mean those of the Cainites,[1] Ophites,[2] or Noachites,[3] and of others of this description—I have not deemed it requisite to explain the things said or done by these, lest on this account they may consider themselves somebody, or deserving of consideration. Since, however, the statements concerning these appear to be sufficient, let us pass on to the cause of evils to all, [viz.] the heresy of the Noetians. Now, after we have laid bare the root of this [heresy], and stigmatized openly the venom, as it were, lurking within it, let us seek to deter from an error of this description those who have been impelled into it by a violent spirit, as it were by a swollen torrent.

[1] Those did homage to Cain.

[2] The Ophites are not considered, as Hippolytus has already devoted so much of his work to the Naasseni. The former denomination is derived from the Greek, and the latter from the Hebrew, and both signify worshippers of the serpent.

[3] Hippolytus seemingly makes this a synonyme with Ophites. Perhaps it is connected with the Hebrew word נָחָשׁ.

BOOK IX.

OF THE

REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES.

CONTENTS.

THE following are the contents of the ninth book of the *Refutation of all Heresies*:—

What the blasphemous folly is of Noetus, and that he devoted himself to the tenets of Heraclitus the Obscure, not to those of Christ.

And how Callistus, intermingling the heresy of Cleomenes, the disciple of Noetus, with that of Theodotus, constructed another more novel heresy, and what sort the life was of this [heretic].

What was the recent[1] arrival [at Rome] of the strange spirit Elchasai, and that there served as a concealment of his peculiar errors his apparent adhesion to the law, when in point of fact he devotes himself to the tenets of the Gnostics, or even of the astrologists, and to the arts of sorcery.

What the customs of the Jews are, and how many diversities of opinion there are [amongst them].

CHAPTER I.

An Account of Contemporaneous Heresy.

A lengthened conflict, then, having been maintained concerning all heresies by us who, at all events, have not left any unrefuted, the greatest struggle now remains behind,

[1] Or, "fruitless;" or, "unmeaning."

viz. to furnish an account and refutation of those heresies that have sprung up in our own day, by which certain ignorant and presumptuous men have attempted to scatter abroad the Church, and have introduced the greatest confusion among all the faithful throughout the entire world. For it seems expedient that we, making an onslaught upon the opinion which constitutes the prime source of [contemporaneous] evils, should prove what are the originating principles of this [opinion], in order that its offshoots, becoming a matter of general notoriety, may be made the object of universal scorn.

Chapter ii.

Source of the Heresy of Noetus—Cleomenes his Disciple—Its appearance at Rome during the Popedoms of Zephyrinus and Callistus—Noetianism opposed at Rome by Hippolytus.

There has appeared one, Noetus[1] by name, [and] by birth a native of Smyrna. This person introduced a heresy from the tenets of Heraclitus. Now a certain man called Epigonus becomes his minister and pupil, and this person during his sojourn at Rome disseminated his godless opinion. But Cleomenes, who had become his disciple, an alien both in way of life and habits from the Church, was wont to corroborate the [Noetian] doctrine. At that time, Zephyrinus imagines that he administers the affairs of the Church—an uninformed and shamefully corrupt man. And he, being persuaded by proffered gain, was accustomed to connive at those who were present for the purpose of becoming disciples of Cleomenes. But [Zephyrinus] himself, being in process of time enticed away, hurried headlong into the same opinions; and he had Callistus as his adviser, and a fellow-champion of these wicked tenets. But the life of this [Callistus], and the heresy invented by him, I shall after a little explain.

[1] See *Fragments of Hippolytus' Works* (p. 235 et seq.), edited by Fabricius; Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* iii. 3; Epiphanius, *Hær.* lvii.; and Philastrius, *Hæret.* liv. Theodoret mentions Epigonus and Cleomenes, and his account is obviously adopted by Hippolytus.

The school of these, during the succession [of these pontiffs], continued to acquire strength and augmentation, from the fact that Zephyrinus and Callistus helped them to prevail. Never at any time, however, have we been guilty of collusion with them; but we have frequently offered them opposition, and have refuted them, and have forced them reluctantly to acknowledge the truth. And they, abashed and constrained by the truth, have confessed [their errors] for a short period, but after a little wallow once again in the same mire.[1]

Chapter iii.

Noetianism an Offshoot from the Heraclitic Philosophy.

But since we have exhibited the succession of their genealogy, it seems expedient next that we should also explain the depraved teaching involved in their doctrines. [For this purpose] we shall first adduce the opinions advanced by Heraclitus the Obscure, and we shall next make manifest what are the portions of these [heretical opinions] that are of Heraclitean origin. [Such parts of their system] its present champions are not aware belong to [Heraclitus] the Obscure, but they imagine them to belong to Christ. But if they might happen to fall in with the following observations, perhaps they thus might be put out of countenance, and induced to desist from this godless blasphemy of theirs. Now, even though the opinion of Heraclitus has been expounded by us previously in the *Philosophumena*, it nevertheless seems expedient now also to set down side by side in contrast [the two systems], in order that by this closer refutation they may be evidently instructed. [I mean] the followers of this [heretic], who imagine themselves to be disciples of Christ, when in reality they are not so, but of [Heraclitus] the Obscure.

[1] 2 Pet. ii. 22.

Chapter iv.

An Account of the System of Heraclitus.

Heraclitus then says that the universe is [one],[1] divisible and indivisible; generated [and] ungenerated; mortal [and] immortal; reason, eternity; Father, Son, and justice, God.[2] "For those who hearken not to me, but the doctrine, it is wise that they acknowledge all things to be one," says Heraclitus; and because all do not know or confess this, he utters a reproof somewhat in the following terms: "People do not understand how what is diverse [nevertheless] coincides with itself, just like the inverse harmony of a bow and lyre."[3] But that Reason always exists, inasmuch as it constitutes the universe, and as it pervades all things, he affirms in this manner. "But in regard of this Reason, which always exists, men are continually devoid of understanding,[4] both before they have heard of it and in first hearing of it. For though all things take place according to this Reason, they seem like persons devoid of any experience regarding it. Still they attempt both words and works of such a description as I am giving an account of, by making a division according to nature, and declaring how things are." And that a Son is the universe

[1] This addition seems necessary from Stobæus' account of Heraclitus. (See *Eclog. Phys.* i. 47, where we have Heraclitus affirming that "unity is from plurality, and plurality from unity;" or, in other words, "that all things are one.")

[2] Dr. Wordsworth for δίκαιον suggests εἰκαῖον, *i.e.* "but that the Deity is by chance." There is some difficulty in arriving at the correct text, and consequently at the meaning of Hippolytus' extracts from Heraclitus. The Heraclitean philosophy is explained by Stobæus, already mentioned. See likewise Bernays' "Critical Epistle" in Bunsen's *Analect. Ante-Nicæn.* (vol. iii. p. 331 et seq. of *Hippolytus and his Age*), and Schleiermacher in *Museum der Alterthumswissenschaft*, t. i. p. 408 et seq.

[3] παλίντροπος. Miller suggests παλίντονος, the word used by Plutarch (*De Isid. et Osirid.* p. 369, ed. Xyland) in recounting Heraclitus' opinion. Παλίντονος, referring to the shape of the bow, means "reflex" or "unstrung," or it may signify "clanging," that is, as a consequence of its being well bent back to wing a shaft.

[4] Compare Aristotle's *Rhet.* iii. 5, and Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Math.* lib. vii. p. 162, ed. Aurel, 1621.

and throughout [endless] ages an eternal king of all things, he thus asserts: "A sporting child, playing at his dice, is eternity; the kingdom is that of a child."[1] And that the Father of all things that have been generated is an unbegotten creature who is creator, let us hear [Heraclitus] affirming in these words: "Contrariety is a progenitor of all things, and king of all; and it exhibited some as gods, but others as men, and made some slaves, whereas others free." And that there is "a harmony, as in a bow and lyre," [he likewise affirms.] That obscure harmony [is better],[2] though unknown and invisible to men, he asserts in these words: "An obscure harmony is preferable to an obvious one." He [thus] commends and admires before what is known, that which is unknown and invisible [in regard] of its power. And that [harmony] visible to men, and not incapable of being discovered, is better, he asserts in these words: "Whatever things are objects of vision, hearing, [and] intelligence, these I pre-eminently honour," he says; that is, [he prefers] things visible to those that are invisible. From such expressions of his it is easy to understand [the spirit of his philosophy]. "Men," he says, "are deceived in reference to the knowledge of manifest things similarly with Homer, who was wiser than all the Greeks. For even children[3] killing vermin deceived him, when they said, 'What we have seen and seized, these we leave behind; whereas what we neither have seen nor seized, these we carry away.'"

Chapter v.

Heraclitus' Estimate of Hesiod—Paradoxes of Heraclitus—his Eschatology—the Heresy of Noetus of Heraclitean Origin—Noetus' View of the Birth and Passion of our Lord.

In this manner Heraclitus assigns to the visible an equality of position and honour with the invisible, as if what was

[1] See Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* vol. i. p. 554, ed. Hemsterh.

[2] This word seems necessary; see Plutarch, *De Procreat. animæ*, c. xxvii.

[3] This is a well-known anecdote in the life of Homer (see Coleridge's *Greek Poets*—Homer).

visible and what was invisible were confessedly some one thing. For he says, "An obscure harmony is preferable to an obvious one;" and, "Whatsoever things are objects of vision, hearing, [and] intelligence," that is, of the [corporeal] organs,—"these," he says, "I pre-eminently honour," not [on this occasion, though previously], having pre-eminently honoured invisible things. Therefore neither darkness, nor light, nor evil, nor good, Heraclitus affirms, is different, but one and the same thing. At all events, he censures Hesiod[1] because he knew [not] day and night. For day, he says, and night are one, expressing himself somehow thus: "The teacher, however, of a vast amount of information is Hesiod, and people suppose this [poet] to be possessed of an exceedingly large store of knowledge, and [yet] he did not know [the nature of] day and night, for they are one." [Again,] as regards both what is good and what is bad, [they are, according to Heraclitus, likewise] one. "Physicians, undoubtedly," says Heraclitus, "when they make incisions and cauterize, [though] in every respect they wickedly torture the sick, complain that they do not receive fitting remuneration from their patients, notwithstanding that they perform these salutary operations upon diseases." And both straight and twisted are, he says, the same. "The way is straight and curved of the carders of wool;"[2] [or, in other words,] the circular movement of an instrument in the fuller's shop called "a screw" is straight and curved, for it revolves up and circularly at the same time. "One and the same," he says, "[therefore, are straight and curved]." And upward and downward,[3] he says, are one and the same. "The way up [and the way] down are the same." And he says that what is filthy and what is pure are one

[1] See *Theogon.* v. 123 et seq., v. 748 et seq.

[2] Γναφέων: some read γναφείῳ, *i.e.* a fuller's shop. The proper reading, however, is probably γνάφῳ, *i.e.* a carder's comb. Dr. Wordsworth's text has γραφέων and ἐν τῷ γραφείῳ, and he translates the passage thus: "The path," says he, "of the lines of the machine called the screw is both straight and crooked, and the revolution in the graving-tool is both straight and crooked."

[3] See Diogenes, *Laertius*, ix. 8.

and the same, and what is drinkable and unfit for drink are one and the same. "Sea," he says, "is water very pure and very foul, drinkable to fishes no doubt, and salutary [for them], but not fit to be used as drink by men, and pernicious [for them]." And, confessedly, he asserts that what is immortal is mortal,[1] and that what is mortal is immortal, in the following expressions: "Immortals are mortal, [and] mortals are immortal, [that is,] when the one derive life from death, and the other death from life." And he affirms also that there is a resurrection of this palpable flesh in which we have been born; and he knows God to be the cause of this resurrection, expressing himself in this manner: "Those that are here[2] [will God enable] to arise and become guardians of quick and dead." And he likewise affirms that a judgment of the world and all things in it takes place by fire, expressing himself thus: "Now, thunder pilots all things," that is, directs [them], meaning by the thunder everlasting fire. But he also asserts that this fire is endued with intelligence, and a cause of the management of the Universe, and he denominates it craving and satiety. Now craving is, according to him, the arrangement [of the world], whereas satiety its destruction. "For," says he, "the fire, coming upon [the earth], will judge and seize all things."

But in this chapter [Heraclitus] simultaneously explains the entire peculiarity of his mode of thinking, but at the same time the [characteristic quality] of the heresy of Noetus. And I have briefly demonstrated [Noetus] to be not a disciple of Christ, but of Heraclitus. For [this philosopher] asserts that the primal world is itself the Demiurge and creator of itself in the following passage: "God is day, night; winter, summer; war, peace; surfeit, famine." All things are contraries—this appears his meaning—"but an

[1] Plato, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Sextus Empiricus notice this doctrine of Heraclitus.

[2] Ἐνθάδε ἐόντας: some read, ἔνθα θεὸν δεῖ, *i.e.* "God must arise and become the guardian," etc. The rendering in the text is adopted by Bernays and Bunsen.

alteration takes place, just as[1] if incense were mixed with [other sorts of] incense, but denominated[2] according to the pleasurable sensation produced by each [ingredient]." Now it is evident to all that the silly successors of Noetus, and the champions of his heresy, even though they have not been hearers of the discourses of Heraclitus, nevertheless, at any rate when they adopt the opinions of Noetus, undisguisedly acknowledge these [Heraclitean] tenets. For they advance statements after this manner—that one and the same God is the Creator and Father of all things; and that when it pleased Him, He appeared, [though, however, being invisible,] to just men of old. For when He is not seen He is invisible, [but when He is seen He is visible]; but incomprehensible when He does not wish to be comprehended, but comprehensible when He is comprehended. Wherefore it is that, according to the same account, He is invincible and vincible, unbegotten and begotten, immortal and mortal. How shall not persons holding this description of opinions be proved to be disciples of Heraclitus? Did not [Heraclitus] the Obscure anticipate [Noetus] in framing a system of philosophy, [and conveyed, too,] according to identical modes of expression?

Now, that [Noetus] affirms that the Son and Father are the same, no one is ignorant. But he makes his statement thus: "When indeed, then, the Father had not been born, He [yet] was justly styled Father; and when it pleased Him to undergo generation, having been begotten, He Himself became His own Son, not another's." For in this manner he thinks to establish the sovereignty [of God], alleging that Father and Son, [so] called, are one and the same [substance], not one individual produced from a different one, but Himself from Himself; and that He is styled by name Father and Son, according to vicissitude of

[1] Or, "as commingled kinds of incense, [each] with different names, but denominated," etc.

[2] Dr. Wordsworth reads ὃ νομίζεται, and translates the passage thus: "But they undergo changes, as perfumes do, when whatever is thought agreeable to any individual is mingled with them."

times.[1] But that He is one who has appeared [amongst us], both having submitted to generation from a virgin, and as a man having held converse among men. And, on account of the birth that had taken place, He confessed Himself to those beholding Him a Son, no doubt; yet He made no secret to those who could comprehend Him of His being a Father. That this person suffered by being fastened to the [accursed] tree, and that He commended His spirit unto [the keeping of] Himself, having died [to all appearance], and not being [in reality] dead. And He raised Himself up the third day, after having been interred in a sepulchre, and wounded with a spear, and perforated with nails. [Now] Cleomenes asserts, in common with his band [of followers], that this person is God and Father of the universe, [and thus] introduces among many [of his disciples] an obscurity [of thought] such as we find in the philosophy of Heraclitus.

Chapter vi.

Conduct of Callistus and Zephyrinus in the matter of Noetianism—avowed Opinion of Zephyrinus concerning Jesus Christ—Disapproval of Hippolytus—as a contemporaneous Event, Hippolytus competent to explain it.

Callistus attempted to confirm this heresy,—a man cunning in wickedness, and subtle where deceit was concerned, [and] who was impelled by restless ambition to mount the episcopal throne. [Now this man moulded to his purpose] Zephyrinus, an ignorant and illiterate individual, and one unskilled in ecclesiastical definitions. And inasmuch as [Zephyrinus] was accessible to bribes, and covetous, [Callistus,] by luring him through presents, and [in return for these], by illicit demands, was enabled to seduce him into whatever course of action he pleased. And so it was that Callistus succeeded in inducing Zephyrinus to create continually disturbances among the brethren, while he himself took care subsequently, by knavish words, to attach both factions in good-will to himself. And,

[1] Hippolytus repeats this opinion in his summary in book x. (See Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* iii. 3.)

at one time, to those who entertained true opinions, he would in private[1] allege that they held similar doctrines [with himself], and thus make them his dupes; while at another time [he would act similarly towards] those [who embraced] the tenets of Sabellius. But [Callistus] perverted [Sabellius] himself, and this, too, though he had the ability of rectifying [this heretic's error]. For [at any time] during our admonition [Sabellius] did not evince obduracy; but as long as he continued alone with Callistus, he was wrought upon to relapse into the system of Cleomenes by this very [Callistus], who alleges that he entertains similar opinions [to Cleomenes. Sabellius,] however, did not then perceive the knavery [of Callistus]; but he afterwards came to be aware of it, as I shall narrate presently.

Now [Callistus] brought forward Zephyrinus himself, and induced him publicly to avow [the following sentiments]: "I know that there is one God, Jesus Christ; nor except Him [do I know] any other that is begotten and amenable to suffering." And on another occasion, when he would make the following statement: "The Father did not die, but the Son." [Zephyrinus] would in this way continue to keep up ceaseless disturbance among the people. And we, becoming aware of his sentiments, did not give place to him, but reproved and withstood him for the truth's sake. And he hurried headlong into folly, from the fact that all consented to his hypocrisy—we,[2] however, [did] not [do so]—and called us worshippers of two gods, disgorging, independent of compulsion,[3] the venom lurking within him. It would seem to us desirable to explain the life of this [heretic], inasmuch as he was born about the same time with ourselves, in order that, by the exposure of the habits of a person of this description,

[1] The MS. reads κατ' ἡδίαν, obviously corrupt. Dr. Wordsworth suggests κατ' ἰδίαν, *i.e.* "he, under pretext of arguing with them, deluded them."

[2] It is to be noticed how the plural number is observed in this account, as keeping before the reader's mind the episcopal office of him who was thus exercising high ecclesiastical authority.

[3] Or, "with violence."

the heresy attempted to be established by him may be easily known, and may perchance be regarded as silly by those endued with intelligence. This [Callistus] became a martyr at the period when Fuscianus was prefect of Rome, and the mode of his martyrdom was as follows.[1]

Chapter VII.

The Personal History of Callistus—his Occupation as a Banker—Fraud on Carpophorus—Callistus absconds—attempted Suicide—condemned to the Treadmill—Re-condemnation by order of the Prefect Fuscianus—banished to Sardinia—Release of Callistus by the Interference of Marcion—Callistus arrives at Rome—Pope Victor removes Callistus to Antium—Return of Callistus on Victor's Death—Zephyrinus friendly to him—Callistus accused by Sabellius—Hippolytus' Account of the Opinions of Callistus—the Callistian School at Rome, and its Practices—this Sect in Existence in Hippolytus' Time.

[Callistus] happened to be a domestic of one Carpophorus, a man of the faith belonging to the household of Cæsar. To this [Callistus], as being of the faith, Carpophorus committed no inconsiderable amount of money, and directed him to bring in profitable returns from the banking business. And he, receiving [the money], tried [the experiment of] a bank in what is called the *Piscina Publica*.[2] And in process of time were entrusted to him not a few deposits by widows and brethren, under the ostensive cause of [lodging their money with] Carpophorus. [Callistus,] however, made away with all [the moneys committed to him], and became involved in pecuniary difficulties. And after having practised such conduct as this, there was not wanting one to tell Carpophorus, and the latter stated that he would require an account from him. Callistus, perceiving these things, and

[1] Hippolytus is obviously sneering at the martyrdom of Callistus, who did not in reality suffer or die for the truth. Nay, his condemnation before Fuscianus enabled Callistus to succeed entirely in his plans for worldly advancement.

[2] The Latin name is written by Hippolytus in Greek letters, and means "the public fish-market." The *Piscina*, one of the fourteen quarters of Rome, was the resort of money-dealers.

suspecting [imminent] danger from his master, escaped away by stealth, directing his flight towards the sea. And finding a vessel in Portus ready for a voyage, he went on board, intending to sail wherever she happened to be bound for. But not even in this way could he avoid detection, for there was not wanting one who conveyed to Carpophorus intelligence of what had taken place. But [Carpophorus], in accordance with the information he had received, at once repaired to the harbour [of Portus], and made an effort to hurry into the vessel [containing Callistus]. The boat, however, was anchored in the middle of the harbour; and as the ferryman was slow in his movements, Callistus, who was in the ship, had time to descry his master at a distance. And knowing that himself would be inevitably captured, he became reckless of life; and, considering his affairs to be in a desperate condition, he proceeded to cast himself into the sea. But the sailors leaped into boats and drew him out, unwilling to come, while those on shore were raising a loud cry. And thus [Callistus] was handed over to his master, and brought to Rome, and his master lodged him in the *Pistrinum*.[1]

But as time wore on, as [mostly] happens to take place [in such cases], brethren repaired to Carpophorus, and entreated him that he would release the fugitive serf from punishment, on the plea of their alleging that [Callistus] acknowledged himself to have money lying [to his credit] with certain persons. But Carpophorus, as a devout man, said he was indifferent regarding his own [property], but that he felt a concern for the deposits; for many shed tears as they remarked to him, that they had committed what they had entrusted to Callistus, under the ostensive cause of [lodging the money with] himself. And Carpophorus yielded to their persuasions, and gave directions for the liberation of [Callistus]. The latter, however, having nothing to pay, and not being able again to abscond, from the fact of his being watched, planned an artifice by which he hoped to meet death. Now, pretending that he was repairing as it were to his creditors, he hurried on their Sabbath-day to the syna-

[1] The *Pistrinum* was the domestic treadmill of the Roman slaveholders.

gogue of the Jews, who were congregated [there], and took his stand, and created a disturbance among them. They, however, being disturbed by him, offered him insult, and inflicted blows upon him, and dragged him before Fuscianus, who was prefect of the city. And [on being asked the cause of such treatment], they replied in the following terms: "Romans have conceded to us[1] the privilege of publicly reading those laws of ours that have been handed down from our fathers. This person, however, by coming into [our place of worship], prevented [us so doing], by creating a disturbance among us, alleging that he is a Christian." And Fuscianus happens at the time to be on the judgment-seat; and on intimating his indignation against Callistus, on account of the statements made by the Jews, there was not wanting one to go and acquaint Carpophorus concerning these transactions. And he, hastening to the judgment-seat of the prefect, exclaimed, "I implore of you, my lord Fuscianus, believe not thou this [fellow]; for he is not a Christian, but seeks occasion of death, having made away with a quantity of my money, as I shall prove." The Jews, however, supposing that this was a stratagem, as if Carpophorus were seeking under this pretext to liberate [Callistus], with the greater enmity clamoured [against him] in presence of the prefect. [Fuscianus,] however, was swayed by these [Jews], and having scourged [Callistus], he gave him [over to be sent] to a mine in Sardinia.[2]

But after a time, there being in that place other martyrs, Marcia, a concubine of Commodus, who was a God-loving female, and desirous of performing some good work, invited into her presence[3] the blessed Victor, who was at that time

[1] See Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. 10.

[2] The air of Sardinia was unwholesome, if not pestilential; and for this reason, no doubt, it was selected as a place of exile for martyrs. Hippolytus himself, along with the Roman pontiff Pontianus [see Introductory Notice], was banished thither.

[3] Marcia's connection with the emperor would not seem very consistent with the Christian character which Hippolytus gives her. Dr. Wordsworth supposes that Hippolytus speaks ironically in the case of Marcia, as well as of Hyacinthus and Carpophorus.

a bishop of the Church, and inquired of him what martyrs were in Sardinia. And he delivered [to her] the names of all, but did not give the [name] of Callistus, knowing the [villanous] acts he had ventured upon. Marcia,[1] obtaining her request from Commodus, hands the letter of emancipation to Hyacinthus, a certain eunuch,[2] rather advanced in life. And he, on receiving [his instructions], sailed away into Sardinia, and having delivered [the letters] to the person who at that time was governor of the territory, he succeeded in having the martyrs released, with the exception of Callistus. But [Callistus] himself, dropping on his knees, and weeping, entreated that he likewise might obtain a release. Hyacinthus, therefore, overcome by [the captive's] importunity, requests the governor [to grant a release], alleging that permission had been given to himself from Marcia[3] [to liberate Callistus], and that he would make arrangements that there should be no risk [in this] to him. Now [the governor] was persuaded, and liberated Callistus also. And when [the latter] arrived [at Rome], Victor was very much grieved at what had taken place; but since he was a compassionate man, he took no action in the matter. Guarding, however, against the reproach [uttered] by many (for the [villanous] attempts made by [this Callistus] were not distant occurrences), and because Carpophorus also still continued adverse, [Victor] sends [Callistus] to take up his abode in Antium, having settled on him a certain monthly allowance for food. And after [Victor's death, Zephyrinus, having had Callistus] as a fellow-worker in the management of his clergy, paid him respect to his own damage; and transferring this person from Antium, appointed him over the cemetery.[4]

And [Callistus], who was in the habit of always associating with [Zephyrinus], and, as I have previously stated, of paying

[1] See Dio Cassius, lxxii. 4.

[2] Or, "a presbyter, though an eunuch," thus indicating the decay of ecclesiastical discipline.

[3] Or, "that Marcia had been brought up by him."

[4] The cemetery of Callistus was situated in the *Via Appia*.

him hypocritical service, disclosed, [by force of contrast, Zephyrinus to be] a person able neither to form a judgment of things said, nor discerning the design of Callistus, who was accustomed to converse with [Zephyrinus] on topics which yielded satisfaction [to the latter]. Thus, after the death of Zephyrinus, supposing that he had obtained [the position] after which he so eagerly pursued, he excommunicated Sabellius, as not entertaining orthodox opinions. [He acted thus] from apprehension of me, and imagining that he could in this manner obliterate the charge [against him] among the churches, as if he did not entertain strange opinions. He was then an impostor and knave, and in process of time hurried away many with him. And having even venom imbedded in his heart, and forming no correct opinion on any subject,[1] and yet withal being ashamed to speak the truth, [this Callistus, not only] on account of his publicly saying in the way of reproach to us, "Ye are Ditheists," but also on account of his being frequently accused by Sabellius, as one that had transgressed his first faith, devised some such heresy as the following. [Callistus] alleges that the Logos Himself is Son, and that Himself is Father; and that though denominated by [a different] title, yet that in reality He is one indivisible spirit. [And he maintains] that the Father is not one person and the Son another, but that they are one and the same; and that all things are full of the Divine Spirit, both those above and [those] below. [And he affirms] that the Spirit, which became incarnate in the virgin['s womb], is not different from the Father, but one and the same. And [he adds], that this is what has been declared [by the Saviour]: "Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?"[2] For that which is seen, which is man, [he considers] to be the Son; whereas the Spirit, which was contained in the Son, to be the Father. "For," says [Callistus], "I will not profess belief in two Gods, Father and Son, but in one. For the Father, who

[1] εὐθέως μηδὲν: Scott reads εὐθέος μηδὲν. Dr. Wordsworth translates the words thus: "having no rectitude of mind."

[2] John xiv. 11.

subsisted in [the Son] Himself, after He had taken unto Himself our flesh, raised it to the nature of Deity, by bringing it into union with Himself, and made it one; so that Father and Son must be styled one God, and that this Person being one, cannot be two." And in this way [Callistus contends] that the Father suffered along with the Son; for he does not wish to assert that the Father suffered, and is one Person, being careful to avoid blasphemy against the Father. [How careful he is!]—a senseless and knavish fellow, who improvises blasphemies in every direction, only that he may [not] seem to speak in violation of the truth, and is not abashed at being at one time betrayed into the tenet of Sabellius, whereas at another into the doctrine of Theodotus.

The impostor [Callistus], having ventured on such [outrageous] opinions, established a school [of theology] in antagonism to the Church, adopting the foregoing system of instruction. And he first invented the device of conniving with men in regard of their indulgence in [sensual] pleasures, saying that all had their sins forgiven by himself. For he who is in the habit of attending the congregation of any one else, and is called a Christian, should he commit any transgression; the sin, they say, is not reckoned unto him, provided only he hurries off [and attaches himself] to the school of Callistus. And many persons were gratified with his regulation, as being stricken in conscience, and at the same time having been rejected by numerous sects; while also some of them, in accordance with our condemnatory sentence, had been by us forcibly ejected from the Church. [Now such disciples as these] passed over to these [followers of Callistus], and served to crowd his school. This [heretic] propounded the opinion, that, if a bishop was guilty of any sin, if even [a sin] unto death,[1] he ought not to be deposed. About the time of this man, bishops, priests, and deacons, who had been twice married, and thrice married, began [to be allowed] to retain their place among the clergy. If also, however, any one who is in holy orders should get married, [Callistus permitted] such a one to continue in holy orders

[1] 1 John v. 16.

as if he had not sinned. And [in justification], he alleges that what has been spoken by the Apostle has been declared in reference to this [person]: "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?"[1] But he asserted that likewise [the] parable of the tares is uttered in reference to this [one]: "Let the tares grow along with the wheat;"[2] or, in other words, let those who in the Church are guilty of sin [remain in it]. But also he affirmed that the ark of Noe was made for a symbol of the Church, in which were both dogs, and wolves, and ravens, and all things clean and unclean; and so he alleges that the case should stand in like manner with the Church. And as many [parts of Scripture] bearing on this [view of the subject] as he could collect, he so interpreted.

And the hearers [of Callistus] being delighted with his tenets, continue with him, [thus] mocking both themselves as well as many [others], and crowds of these [dupes] stream together into his school. Wherefore also [his pupils] are multiplied, and they plume themselves upon [the] crowds [attending the school; though these attend] for the sake of pleasures which Christ did not permit. But in contempt of Him, they place restraint on the commission of no sin, alleging that they pardon those who acquiesce [in Callistus' opinions]. For even also he permitted females, if they were unwedded,[3] and burned with passion at an age at all events unbecoming, or if they were not disposed to overturn their own dignity through a legal marriage, that they might have whomsoever they would choose as a bedfellow, whether a slave or free, and that [a woman], though not legally married, might consider such [a companion] as a husband. Whence

[1] Rom. xiv. 4. [2] Matt. xiii. 30.

[3] This passage, of which there are different readings, has been variously interpreted. The rendering followed above does probably less violence to the text than others proposed. The variety of meaning generally turns on the word ἐναξία in Miller's text. Bunsen alters it into ἐν ἀξίᾳ . . . ἡλικίᾳ, *i.e.* were inflamed at a proper age. Dr. Wordsworth reads ἡλικιώτῃ . . . ἀναξίῳ, *i.e.* an unworthy comrade. Roeper reads ἡλικίᾳ . . . ἀναξίου, *i.e.* in the bloom of youth were enamoured with one undeserving of their choice.

women, reputed believers, began to resort to drugs[1] for producing sterility, and to gird themselves round, so to expel what was being conceived [in their womb. This scandalous conduct they were guilty of,] on account of their not wishing to have a child either by a slave or by any paltry fellow, for the sake of their family and excessive wealth. Behold, into how great impiety that lawless [wretch] has proceeded, by inculcating adultery and murder at the same time! And withal, after such audacious acts, they, lost to all shame, attempt to call themselves a Catholic Church! And some, under the supposition that they will attain prosperity, concur with them. During the [pontificate] of this [Callistus] for the first time, second baptism was presumptuously attempted by them. These, then, [are the practices and opinions which] that most astonishing Callistus established, whose school continues, preserving its customs and tradition, not discerning with whom they ought to communicate, [but] indiscriminately offering communion to all. And from him they have derived the denomination of their *cognomen;* so that, on account of Callistus being a foremost champion of such practices, they should be called Callistians.

Chapter viii.

Sect of the Elchasaites—Hippolytus' Opposition to it.

The doctrine of this [Callistus] having been noised abroad throughout the entire world, a cunning man, and full of desperation, one called Alcibiades, dwelling in Apamea, [a city] of Syria, examined carefully into this business. And considering himself a more formidable character, and more ingenious in [such] tricks, than Callistus, he repaired to Rome; and he brought [thither] some book, alleging that a certain just man, Elchasai,[2] had received this from Seræ,

[1] Dr. Wordsworth places περιδεσμεῖσθαι in the first sentence, and translates thus: "women began to venture to bandage themselves with ligaments to produce abortion, and to deal with drugs in order to destroy what was conceived."

[2] See Eusebius, *Hist. Ecclesiast.* vi. 38; Epiphanius, *Hær.* xix.; and Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* ii. 7.

a town of Parthia, and that he gave it to one called Sobiaï. [And the contents of this volume, as it was alleged,] had been revealed by an angel whose height was 24 *schœnoi*, which make 96 miles, and whose breadth is 4 *schœnoi*, and from shoulder to shoulder 6 *schœnoi;* and the tracks of his feet extend to the length of three and a half *schœnoi*, which are [equal to] fourteen miles, while the breadth is one *schœnos* and a half, and the height half a *schœnos*. And [he alleges] that also there is a female with him, whose measurement, he says, is according to the [standards] already mentioned. And [he asserts] that the male [angel] is Son of God, but that the female is called Holy Spirit. By detailing these prodigies he imagines that he confounds fools, [while at the same time] he utters the following sentence: "that there was preached unto men a new remission of sins in the third year of Trajan's reign." And [Elchasai] determines [the nature of] baptism, and even this I shall explain. He alleges, [as regards] those who have been involved in every description of lasciviousness, and filthiness, and [in] acts of wickedness, if only any [of them] be a believer, that he determines that such a one, on being converted, and obeying the book, and believing [its contents], should by baptism receive remission of sins.

Elchasai, however, ventured to continue these knaveries, taking occasion from the aforesaid tenet of which Callistus stood forward as a champion. For, perceiving that many were delighted at this sort of promise, he considered that he could opportunely make the attempt [just alluded to]. And notwithstanding we offered resistance to this [heretic], and did not permit many for any length of time to become victims of the delusion.[1] For we carried conviction [to the people, when we affirmed] that this was [the] operation of a spurious spirit, and the invention of a heart inflated with pride, and that this [heretic] like a wolf had risen up against many wandering sheep, which Callistus, by his [arts of] deception, had scattered abroad. But since we have

[1] For πλανηθῆναι Dr. Wordsworth reads πλατυνθῆναι, *i.e.* did not suffer the heresy to spread wide.

commenced, we shall not be silent as regards the opinions of this [heretic]. And, in the first place, we shall expose his life, and we shall prove that his supposed discipline is a mere pretence. And next, I shall adduce the principal heads of his assertions, in order that the reader, looking fixedly on [such a digest of] the treatises of this [Elchasai], may be made aware what and what sort is the heresy which has been audaciously attempted [to be established] by this man.

Chapter ix.

Elchasai derived his System from Pythagoras—practised Incantations.

This [Elchasai] puts forward as a decoy a polity [such as that authorized in the] law, alleging that believers ought to be circumcised and live according to [the] law, [while at the same time] he forcibly rends certain [fragments] from the aforesaid heresies. And he asserts that Christ was born a man in the same way as common to all [human beings], and that [Christ] was not for the first time [on earth when] born of a virgin, but that both previously and that frequently again He had been born and would be born. [Christ] would thus appear and exist [among us from time to time], undergoing alterations of birth, and having his soul transferred from body to body. [Now Elchasai] adopted that tenet of Pythagoras [to which I have already alluded]. But [these Elchasaites] have reached such an altitude of pride, that even they affirm themselves to be endued with a power of foretelling futurity, using as a starting-point, obviously, [the] measures and numbers of the aforesaid Pythagorean art. These also devote themselves to [the] tenets of mathematicians, and astrologers, and magicians, as if they were true. And [the Elchasaites] resort to these, so as to confuse silly people, [who are thus led] to suppose that [these heretics] participate in a doctrine of power. And [the followers of Elchasai] teach certain incantations and formularies for those who have been bitten by dogs, and possessed of demons, and seized with other diseases; and we shall not be silent respecting even such [practices] of these [heretics]. Having then

sufficiently explained their principles, and the causes of their presumptuous attempts, I shall pass on to give an account of their writings, through which my readers will become acquainted with both the trifling and godless efforts of these [Elchasaites].

Chapter x.

Elchasai's Mode of administering Baptism—Formularies.

To those, then, that have been orally instructed by him, he dispenses baptism in this manner, addressing to his dupes some such words as the following: "If, therefore, [my] children,[1] one shall have intercourse with any sort of animal whatsoever, or a male, or a sister, or a daughter, or hath committed adultery, or been guilty of fornication, and is desirous of obtaining remission of sins, from the moment that he hearkens to this book let him be baptized a second time in [the] name of the Great and Most High God, and in [the] name of His Son, the Mighty King. And [by baptism] let him be purified and cleansed, and let him adjure for himself those seven witnesses that have been described in this book—the heaven, and the water, and the holy spirits, and the angels [that are objects] of prayer, and the oil, and the salt, and the earth." These constitute the astonishing mysteries of Elchasai, those ineffable and potent [secrets] which he delivers to deserving disciples. And with these that lawless [wretch] is not satisfied, but in the presence of two and [sometimes] three witnesses he puts the seal to his own wicked [practices]. Again expressing himself thus: "Again I say, O adulterers and adulteresses, and false prophets, if you are desirous of being converted, that your sins may be forgiven you, as soon as ever you hearken unto this book, and be baptized a second time along with your garments, shall peace be yours, and [your] portion with the just." But since we have stated that these [heretics] resort to incantations for those bitten by dogs and for other [mishaps], we shall explain these. Now [Elchasai] uses the following

[1] Roeper reads τέκνῳ, *i.e.* if any one is guilty of an unnatural crime.

formulary: "If a dog rabid and furious, [and] in whom inheres a spirit of destruction, bite any man, or woman, or youth, or girl, or may worry or touch [them], in the same hour let such a one run with all their wearing apparel, and go down to a river or to a fountain wherever there is a deep spot. [And here] let [him or her] be dipped with all their wearing apparel, and offer supplication to the Great and Most High God in faith of heart, and then let him [thus] adjure the seven witnesses described in this book: 'Behold, I call to witness the heaven and the water, and the holy spirits, and the angels [who are objects] of prayer, and the oil, and the salt, and the earth. I testify by these seven witnesses that no more shall I sin, nor commit adultery, nor steal, nor be guilty of injustice, nor be covetous, nor be actuated by hatred, nor be scornful, nor shall I take pleasure in any wicked [deeds].' Having uttered, therefore, these words, let such a one be baptized with the entire of his wearing apparel in [the] name of the Mighty and Most High God."

Chapter XI.

Precepts of Elchasai.

But in very many other respects he talks folly, inculcating the use of these sentences also for those afflicted with consumption, and that they should be dipped in cold [water] forty times during seven days; and [he prescribes] similar treatment for those possessed of devils. Oh inimitable wisdom and incantations gorged with powers![1] Who will not be astonished at such and such force of words? But since we have stated that they also bring into requisition astrological deceit, we shall prove [our assertion] from their own [formularies]; for [Elchasai] speaks thus: "There exist wicked stars of impiety. This declaration has been now made by us, [O ye] pious [ones] and disciples: beware of the power of the days [during which prevails] the sovereignty of these [stars], and engage not in the commencement of any undertaking during the days [of the rule] of these. And baptize not man or

[1] Miller suggests the singular number (δυνάμεως).

woman during the days of the power of these [stars], when the moon, [emerging forth] from among them, courses [the firmament], and travels [in its orbit] along with them. Beware of the very day up to that on which [the moon] passes out from these [stars], and then [after this] baptize and enter on every beginning of your works. But, moreover, honour the day of the Sabbath, since that day is one of those during which prevails [the power] of these [stars]. Take care, however, not to commence [your works] the third [day] from a Sabbath, since when three years [of the reign] of the emperor Trajan are again completed from the time that he subjected the Parthians to his own sway,—when, [I say,] three years have been completed, war rages between the impious angels of the northern [constellations; and] on this account all kingdoms of impiety are in a state of confusion."

Chapter XII.

The Heresy of the Elchasaites a derivative one.

Inasmuch as [Elchasai] considers, then, that it would be an insult to reason that these mighty and ineffable mysteries should be trampled under foot, or that they should be committed to many, he advises that as valuable pearls [1] they should be preserved, expressing himself thus: "Do not recite this account to all men, and guard carefully these precepts, because all men are not faithful, nor are all women straightforward." [Books containing] these [tenets], however, neither the wise men of the Egyptians secreted in shrines, nor did Pythagoras, a sage of the Greeks, conceal [them there]. For if at that time Elchasai had happened to live, what necessity would there be that Pythagoras, or Thales, or Solon, or the wise Plato, or even the rest of the sages of the Greeks, should become disciples of the Egyptian priests, when they could obtain possession of such and such wisdom from Alcibiades, as the most astonishing interpreter of that wretched [creature] Elchasai? The statements, therefore, that have been made for the purpose of attaining a

[1] Matt. vii. 6.

knowledge of the madness of these [heretics], would seem sufficient for those endued with sound mind. And so it is, that it has not appeared expedient to quote more of their formularies, seeing that these are very numerous and ridiculous. Since, however, we have not omitted those [practices] that have risen up in our own day, and have not been silent as regards those [prevalent] before our time, it seems proper, in order that we may pass [in review] through all [their systems], and leave nothing untold, to state what also are the [customs] of the Jews, and what are the diversities of opinion among them, for I imagine that these as yet remain behind [for our consideration]. Now, when I have broken silence on these points, I shall pass on to the demonstration of the Doctrine of the Truth, in order that, after the lengthened argumentative struggle [in which we have been engaged] against all heresies, we, devoutly pressing forward towards the kingdom's crown, and believing the truth, may not be unsettled.

Chapter xiii.

The Jewish Sects.

Originally there prevailed but one usage[1] among the Jews; for one teacher was given unto them by God, [namely] Moses, and one law by this [person]. And there [was] one desert region and one Mount Sinai, for one God it was Who legislated for these [Jews]. But, again, after they had crossed the river Jordan, and had inherited by lot the conquered country, they in various ways rent in sunder the law of God, each devising [a different interpretation of] the declarations made [by Jehovah]. And in this way they raised up for themselves teachers, [and] invented doctrines of an heretical nature, and they continued to advance into [sectarian] divisions. Now it is the diversity [in opinion] of these [Jews] that I at present propose to explain. But though for even a considerable time they have been rent into very numerous sects, yet I intend to elucidate the more principal [heads] of

[1] Or, "nation."

them, while those who are of a studious turn will easily become acquainted with the rest. For there is a division [recognised] amongst them into three sorts[1] [of sects]; and the adherents of the first are the Pharisees, but of the second the Sadducees, while the rest are Essenes. These practise a more devotional life, being filled with mutual love, and being temperate. And they turn away [in disgust] from every act of inordinate desire, being averse even to hearing [the mention of] things of the sort. And they renounce matrimony, but they take the boys of others, and [thus] have an offspring begotten for them. And they lead [these adopted children] into an observance of their own peculiar customs, and in this way bring them up and impel them to learn the sciences. They do not, however, forbid them to marry, though themselves refraining from matrimony. Women, however, even though they may be disposed to adhere to the same course of life,[2] they do not admit, inasmuch as in no way whatsoever have they, [in a matter of this sort,] confidence in women.

Chapter XIV.

The Tenets of the Esseni.

And they despise wealth, and do not turn away from sharing [their goods] with those that are destitute. No one amongst them, however, enjoys a greater amount of riches than another. For a regulation with them is, that an individual coming forward [to join] the sect must sell his possessions, and present [the price of them] to the community. And on receiving [the money], the head [of the order] distributes it to all according to their necessities. Thus there

[1] See Josephus, *De Bell. Judaic.* ii. 8, from whom Hippolytus seems to have taken his account of the Jewish sects, except, as Schneidewin remarks, we suppose some other writer whom Josephus and Hippolytus themselves followed. The Abbe Cruice thinks that the author followed by Hippolytus was not Josephus, but a Christian writer of the first century, who derived his materials from the Jewish historian. Hippolytus' text sometimes varies from the text of Josephus, as well as of Porphyry, who has taken excerpts from Josephus' work.

[2] Or, "choice."

is no one among them in distress. And they do not use oil, regarding it as a defilement to be anointed. And there are appointed overseers, who take care of all things that belong to them in common, and they all appear always in white clothing.

Chapter xv.

The Tenets of the Esseni—*continued.*

But there is not one city of them, but many of them settle in every [town]. And if any of the adherents of the sect may be present from a strange [country], they consider that all things are in common for him, and those whom they had not previously known they receive as if they belonged to their own household and kindred. And they traverse their native land, and on each occasion that they go on a journey they carry nothing except arms. And they have also in their cities a president, who expends the [moneys] collected for this [purpose] in procuring clothing and food for them. And their robe and its shape are modest. And they do not own two cloaks, or a double set of shoes; and when those that are in present use become antiquated, then they adopt others. And they neither buy nor sell anything at all; but whatever any one has he gives to him that has not, and that which one has not he receives.

Chapter xvi.

The Tenets of the Esseni—*continued.*

And they continue in an orderly manner, and with perseverance pray from early dawn, and they do not speak a word unless they have praised God in a hymn. And in this way they each go forth and engage in whatever employment they please; and after having worked up to the fifth hour they leave off. Then again they come together into one place, and encircle themselves with linen girdles, for the purpose of concealing their private parts. And in this manner they perform ablutions in cold water; and after being thus cleansed,

they repair together into one apartment (now no one who entertains a different opinion from themselves assembles in the house), and they proceed to partake of breakfast. And when they have taken their seats in silence, they set down loaves in order, and next some one sort of food to eat along with [the bread], and each receives from these a sufficient portion. No one, however, tastes these before the priest utters a blessing, and prays over [the food]. And after breakfast, when he has a second time offered up supplication, as at the beginning, so at the conclusion of their meal they praise God in hymns. Next, after they have laid aside as sacred the garments in which they have been clothed while together taking their repast within [the house]—now [these garments] are linen—and having resumed the [clothes which they had left] in the vestibule, they hasten to agreeable occupations until evening. And they partake of supper, doing all things in like manner to those already mentioned. And no one will at any time cry aloud, nor will any other tumultuous voice be heard. But they each converse quietly, and with decorum one concedes the conversation to the other, so that the stillness of those within [the house] appears a sort of mystery to those outside. And they are invariably sober, eating and drinking all things by measure.

Chapter XVII.

The Tenets of the Esseni—*continued.*

All then pay attention to the president; and whatever injunctions he will issue, they obey as law. For they are anxious that mercy and assistance be extended to those that are burdened with toil. And especially they abstain from wrath and anger, and all such [passions], inasmuch as they consider these to be treacherous to man. And no one amongst them is in the habit of swearing; but whatever any one says, this is regarded more binding than an oath. If, however, one will swear, he is condemned as one unworthy of credence. They are likewise solicitous about the readings of the law and prophets; and moreover also, if there is any

treatise, [the work of any] of the faithful, [they are solicitous about it likewise.] And they evince the utmost curiosity concerning plants and stones, rather busying themselves as regards the operative powers of these, saying that these [bodies] were not created in vain.

Chapter xviii.

The Tenets of the Esseni—*continued.*

But to those who wish to become disciples of the sect, they do not immediately deliver their rules, unless they have previously tested [these would-be adherents]. Now for the space of a year they set before [the candidates] the same [sorts of] food, while the latter continue to live in a different house outside the [Essenes'] own place of meeting. And they give [to these probationists] a hatchet and the linen girdle, and a white robe. When, at the expiration of this period, one affords proof of self-control, he approaches nearer to the [sect's] method of living, and he is washed more purely than before. Not as yet, however, does he partake of food along with [the Essenes]. For, after having furnished evidence as to whether he is able to acquire self-control (but for two years the habit of a person of this description is tested), and when he has appeared deserving, he is thus reckoned amongst the members [of the sect]. Previous, however, to his being allowed to partake of a repast along with them, he is bound under fearful oaths. First, that he will worship the Divinity; next, that he will observe just [dealings] with men, and that he will in no way injure any one, and that he will not hate a person who injures him, or is hostile to him, but pray for them. He likewise swears that he will always aid the just, [and] keep faith with all, especially those who are rulers. For, [as the Essenes argue,] a position of authority does not happen to any one without [the will of] God. And if [the Essene] himself be a ruler, [he swears] that he will not conduct himself at any time arrogantly in [the exercise of] power, nor be prodigal, nor resort to any adornment, or a greater [state of magnificence] than

the usage [of the order permits. He likewise swears], however, to be a lover of truth, and to reprove him that is guilty of falsehood, neither to steal, nor pollute his conscience for the sake of iniquitous gain, nor conceal [aught] from those that are members of his sect, and to divulge nothing to others, though one should be tortured even unto death. And in addition to the foregoing [promises], he swears to impart to no one a knowledge of the doctrines in a different manner from that in which he has received them himself.

Chapter XIX.

The Tenets of the Esseni—*continued.*

With oaths, then, of this description, they bind those who come forward [to join the sect]. If, however, any one may be condemned for any sin, he is expelled from the order; but one that has been [thus] excommunicated sometimes perishes by an awful death. For, inasmuch as he is bound by the oaths and rites [of the sect], he is not able to partake of the food in use among other people. [Those that are excommunicated,] occasionally, therefore, utterly destroy the body through starvation. And so it is, that when it comes to the last [with these sufferers, the Essenes] sometimes pity many [of them] who are at the point of dissolution, inasmuch as they deem a punishment even unto death, [thus inflicted] upon these [culprits], a sufficient [penalty for their transgressions].

Chapter XX.

The Tenets of the Esseni—*continued.*

But as regards judicial decisions, [the Essenes] are most accurate and impartial. And they deliver their judgments when they have assembled together, [numbering] at the very least one hundred [councillors]; and the sentence delivered by them is irreversible. And they honour the legislator [next] after God; and if any one is guilty of blasphemy against this [framer of laws], he is punished. And

they are taught to yield obedience to rulers and elders; and if ten occupy seats in the same [room], one [of them] will not speak unless it will appear expedient to the [other] nine. And they are careful not to spit out into the midst [of persons present], and to the right hand: they are more solicitous, however, about abstaining from work on the Sabbath-day than all [the] Jews. For not only do they prepare their victuals for themselves one day previously, so as not [on the Sabbath] to kindle a fire, but not even would they move a utensil from one place to another [on that day], nor ease nature; nay, some would not even rise from a couch. On other days, however, when they wish to relieve nature, they dig a hole a foot long with the mattock (for of this description is the hatchet, which the president in the first instance gives those who come forward to gain admission [into the sect] as disciples), and cover [this cavity] on all sides with their garment. [Then they sit down over the hole,] alleging that they do not necessarily insult the sunbeams; [and after evacuation,] they then replace the upturned soil into the pit; and this is their practice, choosing [for such a purpose] the more lonely spots. But after they have performed this operation, immediately they undergo ablution, as if the excrement pollutes them.

Chapter xxi.

Different Sects of the Esseni.

[The Essenes] have, however, in the lapse of time, undergone divisions, and they do not preserve their system of training after a similar manner, inasmuch as they have been split up into four parties. For some of them discipline themselves above the requisite [rules of the order], so that even they would not handle a current coin of the country, saying that they ought not either to carry, or behold, or fashion an image: wherefore no one of those [belonging to this party] goes into a city, lest [by so doing] he should enter through a gate at which statues are [erected], regarding it a violation of law to pass beneath images. But the adherents of

another party, if they happen to hear any one maintaining a discussion concerning God and His laws—supposing such to be an uncircumcised person, they will closely watch him; and when they meet a person of this description in any place alone, they will threaten to slay him if he refuses to undergo the rite of circumcision. Now, if the latter does not wish to comply with this request, [a member of this party of the Essenes] spares not, but even slaughters, [the obnoxious offender.] And it is from this occurrence that they have received their appellation, being denominated Zelotæ [by some], but by others Sicarii. And the adherents of another party call no one Lord except the Deity, even though one should put them to the torture, or even kill them. But there are [schismatics] of a later period, who have to such an extent declined [in strictness] from the [ancient] discipline [of the order], that, as far as those are concerned who continue in [the observance of] the primitive customs, they would not even touch these. And if they happen to come in contact with them, they immediately resort to ablution, as if they had touched one belonging to an alien tribe. But here also there are very many of them of so great longevity, as even to live longer than a hundred years. They assert, therefore, that a cause of this arises from their extreme devotion to religion, and their condemnation of all excess in regard of what is served up [as food], and from their being temperate and incapable of anger. And so it is that they despise death, rejoicing when they can finish their course with a good conscience. If, however, any one would even put to the torture persons of this description, in order to induce any amongst them either to speak evil of the law, or eat what is offered in sacrifice to an idol, he will not effect his purpose; for [an Essene of this party] submits to death and endures torment rather than violate his conscience.

Chapter XXII.

Belief of the Esseni in the Resurrection—their System a suggestive one.

Now the doctrine of the resurrection has also derived

support among [the Essenes]; for they acknowledge both that the flesh will rise again, and that it will be immortal, in the same manner as the soul is already imperishable. [And they maintain] that the soul, when separated in the present life [from the body, departs] into one place, which is well ventilated and lightsome, [where,] they say, [the soul] rests until judgment. And this locality the Greeks were acquainted with by hearsay, and called it "Isles of the Blessed." And there are other tenets of these [Essenes] which many of the Greeks have appropriated, and thus have from time to time formed their own opinions. For the disciplinary system [advanced] according to these [Jewish sects] in regard of the Divinity, is of greater antiquity than [that of] all nations. And so it is that the proof is at hand, that all those [Greeks] who ventured to make assertions concerning God, or concerning the creation of existing things, derived their principles from no other source than from Jewish legislation. And among these [Greeks may be particularized] Pythagoras especially, and the Stoics, who derived [their systems while resident] among the Egyptians, by having become disciples of these [Jews].[1] Now they affirm that there will be both a judgment and a conflagration of the universe, and that the wicked will be eternally punished. And among them is cultivated the practice of prophecy, and the prediction of future events.

Chapter xxiii.

Another Sect of the Esseni—the Pharisees.

There is then another order of the Essenes who use the same customs and prescribed method of living [with the foregoing sects], but make an alteration from [the system of] these in one respect, viz. marriage. Now they maintain that those who have abrogated matrimony commit some

[1] Thus Plato's "Laws" present many parallels to the writings of Moses. Some have supposed that Plato became acquainted with the Pentateuch through the medium of an ancient Greek version extant prior to that of the Septuagint.

terrible [offence, inasmuch as such a rejection of the nuptial state] is [available only] for the destruction of life, and that they ought not to cut off the succession of children; [for,] that if all entertained this opinion, the entire race of men would easily be exterminated. However, they make a trial of their betrothed women for a period of three years; and when they have been three times purified, with a view of testing their ability of bringing forth children, so they wed then. They do not, however, cohabit with pregnant women, evincing that they marry not from sensual motives, but from the advantage of [having] children. And the women likewise undergo ablution in a similar manner [with their husbands], and are themselves also arrayed in a linen garment, after the mode in which the men [are encircled] with their girdles. These, then, [are the statements which I have to make] respecting the Esseni.

But there are also others who themselves practise the Jewish customs; and these, both in respect of caste and in respect of the laws, are called Pharisees. Now the greatest part of these is [to be found] in every locality, inasmuch as, though all [of them] are styled [generically] Jews, yet, on account of the peculiarity of the opinions advanced by them, they have been denominated by titles proper [to themselves]. These, then, firmly hold the ancient tradition, and continue to pursue in a disputative spirit a close investigation into the things [regarded] according to [the] law as clean and not clean. And they interpret the [regulations] of the law, and put forward teachers, [whom they qualify] for [giving instruction in] such [explanations]. These [Pharisees] affirm the existence of fate, and that some things are in our power, whereas others are under the control of destiny. In this way [they maintain] that some [actions] depend upon ourselves, whereas others upon fate. But [they assert] that God is a cause of all things, and that nothing is managed or happens without His will. These likewise acknowledge that there is a resurrection of flesh, and that soul is immortal, and that there will be a judgment and conflagration, and that the righteous will be imperishable, but that

the wicked will endure everlasting punishment in unquenchable fire.

Chapter xxiv.

The Sadducees.

These, then, are the opinions even of the Pharisees. The Sadducees, however, are for abolishing fate, and they acknowledge that God does nothing that is wicked; nor [do they allow that the Deity] exercises providence over [earthly concerns], but [they contend] that the choice between good and evil lies within the power of men. And they deny that there is a resurrection not only of flesh, but also they suppose that the soul does not continue [after death]. [Now the Sadducees consider soul to be nothing] but mere [present] vitality, and that it is on account of this [existence here] that man has been created. However, [they maintain] that the notion of the resurrection has been fully realized by the single circumstance, that we close our days after having left children [behind us] upon earth. But [they still insist] that after death one expects to suffer nothing, either bad or good; for that there will be a dissolution both of soul and body, and that man passes into non-existence, similarly also with the [rest of] the animal creation. But as regards whatever wickedness a man may have committed in life [towards any one], provided he may have been reconciled [to the injured party], he has been a gainer [by such transgression], inasmuch as he has escaped the punishment [that otherwise would have been inflicted upon him] by men. And whatever acquisitions a man may have made, and [in whatever respect], by becoming wealthy, he may have acquired distinction, he has so far been a gainer. But [they nevertheless abide by their assertion], that God has no solicitude about the concerns of an individual [here]. And while the Pharisees are full of mutual affection, the Sadducees, on the other hand, are actuated by self-love. This sect had its stronghold in [the locality] around Samaria especially. And these also adhere to the customs of the law, saying that one

ought so to live, that he may conduct himself virtuously, and leave children behind him on earth. They do not, however, devote attention to prophets, but neither [do they] to any other sages, except to the law of Moses only, [in regard of which,] however, they frame no interpretations. These, then, are the opinions which also the Sadducees choose [to advance].

CHAPTER XXV.

The Jewish Religion.

Since, therefore, we have explained even the diversities [of opinion] among the Jews, it seems expedient likewise not to pass over in silence the system of their religion. The doctrine, therefore, [prevalent] among all Jews on the subject of religion is fourfold—theological, natural, moral, [and] ceremonial. And they affirm that there is one God, and that He is Creator and Lord of the universe. [And they assert] that He has formed all these glorious works which had no previous existence; and this, too, not out of any coeval substance that lay ready at hand, but His Will—the efficient cause—was [to create], and He did create. And [they maintain] that there are angels, and that these have been brought into being for ministering unto the creation; but also that there is a sovereign Spirit that always continues beside God, for [the purpose of offering Him] glory and praise. And [they affirm] that all things in the creation are endued with sensation, and that there is nothing inanimate. And they earnestly aim at serious habits and a temperate life, as one may ascertain from their laws. Now these [matters] have long ago been strictly defined by those who in ancient times have received the divinely-appointed law;[1] so that the reader will find himself astonished at the amount of temperance, and of diligence [lavished] on customs legally enacted in reference to man. The ceremonial service, however, which has been adapted to divine [worship] in a manner befitting

[1] Or, "the law not of yesterday," *οὐ νεωστὶ τὸν νόμον.* Cruice reads *θεόκτιστον*, as rendered above.

the dignity [of religion], has been practised amongst them with the highest degree of elaboration. The superiority of their ritualism it is easy for those who wish it to ascertain, provided they read the book which furnishes information on these points. [They will thus perceive] how that with solemnity and sanctity the [Jewish priests] offer unto God the first-fruits of the gifts bestowed by Him for the use and enjoyment of men; [and how in general] they fulfil their ministrations with regularity and stedfastness, in obedience to His commandments. There are, however, some [liturgical usages adopted] by these, which the Sadducees refuse to recognise, for they are not disposed to acquiesce in the existence of angels or spirits.

Still all [parties] alike expect Christ, inasmuch as the law certainly, and the prophets, preached beforehand that He was about to be present [on earth]. Inasmuch, however, as the Jews were not cognizant of the [proper] period of His advent, there remains [among them] the supposition that the declarations [of Scripture] concerning [the Redeemer's] coming have not been fulfilled. And so it is, that up to this day they continue in anticipation of the future coming of Christ,—[a delusion arising] from the fact of their not discerning Him when He was present [in the world]. And [yet there can be little doubt but] that, on beholding the signs of the times of His having been already amongst us, [the Jews] are troubled; and that they are ashamed to confess that He has come, since they have with their own hands put Him to death, because they were stung with indignation in being convicted by [the Lord] Himself of not having obeyed the laws. And [to justify their wickedness], they affirm that He Who was thus sent forth by God is not this Christ [Whom they are looking for]; but they confess that another [Messiah] will come, who as yet has no existence; and that he will usher in some of the signs which the law and the prophets have shown beforehand, whereas, regarding the rest [of these indications], they suppose that they have fallen into error. For they say that his generation will be [derived] from the stock of David, but not from a virgin and [the] Holy Spirit, but from

a woman and a man, according as it is a rule [of nature] for all to be procreated from seed. And they allege that this [Messiah] will be King over them,—a warlike and powerful individual, who, after having gathered together the entire people of the Jews, [and] having done battle with all the nations, will restore for them Jerusalem the royal city. And into this city He will collect together the entire [Hebrew] race, and bring it back once more into [an observance of] the ancient customs, that it may fulfil the regal and sacerdotal functions, and dwell in confidence for periods of time of sufficient duration. [At the expiration of this repose, it is the opinion of the Jews] that war would next be waged against them after being thus congregated, [and] that in this conflict Christ would fall by the edge of the sword. [And they affirm] that, after no long time, would next succeed the termination and conflagration of the universe; and that in this way their opinions concerning the resurrection would receive completion, and a recompense be rendered to each man according to his works.

Chapter XXVI.

Conclusion to the Work explained.

It now seems to us that the tenets of both all the Greeks and barbarians have been sufficiently explained by us, and that nothing has remained unrefuted either of the points about which philosophy has been busied, or of the allegations advanced by the heretics. And from these very explanations the condemnation of the heretics is obvious, for having either purloined their doctrines, or derived contributions to them from some of those tenets elaborately worked out by the Greeks, and for having advanced [these derivative opinions] as if they originated from God. Since, therefore, we have hurriedly passed [in review] through all [the systems] of these [heretics], and with much labour have, in the nine [preceding] books, proclaimed all their opinions, and have left behind us for all men a small viaticum in life, and to those who are our contemporaries have afforded a desire of

learning [sure to be undertaken with] great joy and delight, we have considered it reasonable, as a crowning stroke to the entire [work], to introduce the [already mentioned] discourse concerning the truth, and to furnish our delineation of this in one book, namely the tenth. [And our object is,] that the reader, not only when made acquainted with the overthrow of those who have presumed to establish heresies, may regard with scorn their idle [fancies], but also, when brought to know the power of the truth, may be placed in the way of salvation, by reposing that faith in God which He so worthily deserves [from His creatures].

BOOK X.

OF THE

REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES.

CONTENTS.

THE following are the contents of the tenth book of the *Refutation of all Heresies:*

An Epitome of all Philosophers.

An Epitome of all Heresies.

And, in conclusion to all, what the Doctrine of the Truth is.

CHAPTER I.

Recapitulation.

After we have, not with violence burst through the labyrinth of heresies, but have unravelled [their intricacies] through a refutation merely, or, in other words, by the force of truth, we [now] approach the demonstration of the truth [itself]. For then the artificial sophisms of error will be exposed in all their inconsistency, when we shall succeed in establishing whence it is that the definition of the truth [has been derived. For it will be proved that the truth] has not taken its principles from the wisdom of the Greeks, nor borrowed its doctrines, as secret mysteries, from the tenets of the Egyptians, which, albeit silly, are regarded amongst them with religious veneration as worthy of reliance. Nor [has the truth] been formed out of the fallacies which enunciate the incoherent [conclusions arrived at through the] curiosity of the

Chaldæans. Nor does the truth owe its existence to astonishment, through the operations of dæmons, for the irrational frenzy of the Babylonians. But [the definition of the truth] is constituted after the manner in which every true definition is, viz. as simple and unadorned. A definition such as this, provided it is made manifest, will [of itself] refute error. And although we have very frequently propounded demonstrations [about it], and with sufficient fulness elucidated for those willing [to learn] the rule of the truth; yet even now, after having discussed all the opinions put forward by the Greeks and heretics, we have decided it not to be at all events unreasonable to introduce, as a sort of finishing stroke to the [nine] books [of the present work], this demonstration throughout the tenth book.

Chapter ii.

Summary of the Opinions of Philosophers.

Having, therefore, embraced [the consideration of] the tenets of all the wise men among the Greeks in four books, and the doctrines propounded by the heresiarchs in five, we shall now exhibit the doctrine concerning the truth in one [book], having first presented in a summary the suppositions entertained by all [of these severally]. For the dogmatists of the Greeks, dividing philosophy into three parts, in this manner devised from time to time their speculative systems;[1] some denominating their [system] Natural [Philosophy], and others Moral [Philosophy], but others Dialectical [Philosophy]. And [the ancient thinkers who called their science] Natural Philosophy, were those [mentioned in book i.]. And the account which they furnished [of phenomena] was after this mode: Some of them [derived] all things from one, whereas others from more things [than one]. And of those [who derived all things] from one, some [derived them] from what was devoid of quality, whereas others from what was endued with quality. And among those [who derived all

[1] Hippolytus in what follows is indebted to Sextus Empiricus.—*Adv. Phys.* x.

things] from quality, some [derived them] from fire, and some from air, and some from water, and some from earth. And among those [who derived the universe] from more things [than one], some [derived it] from numerable, but others from infinite quantities. And among those [who derived all things] from numerable quantities, some [derived them] from two, and others from four, and others from five, and others from six [of these quantities]. And among those [who derived the universe] from infinite quantities, some [derived entities] from things similar to those generated, whereas others from things dissimilar. And among these [speculators] some [derived entities] from things incapable of, whereas others from things capable of, passion. From, then, a body devoid of quality and endued with unity, the Stoics accounted for the generation of the universe. For, according to them, matter devoid of quality, and in all its parts susceptible of change, constitutes an originating principle of the universe. For, when an alteration of this ensues, there is generated fire, air, water, earth. The followers, however, of Hippasus, and Anaximander, and Thales the Milesian, are disposed [to think] that all things have been generated from one [thing, and that, too, an entity], endued with quality. Hippasus of Metapontum and Heraclitus the Ephesian declared the origin [of things to be] from fire, whereas Anaximander from air, but Thales from water, and Xenophanes from earth. "For from earth," says he, "are all things, and all things terminate in the earth."[1]

Chapter III.

Summary of the Opinions of Philosophers—*continued.*

But among those [who derive all entities] from more things than one, and from numerable quantities, the poet Homer asserts that the universe consists of two [substances], namely earth and water; at one time expressing himself thus:

"The source of gods was Sea and Mother Earth."[2]

And on another occasion [thus]:

"But indeed ye all might become water and earth."[3]

[1] See Karst. *Fragm.* viii. 45. [2] *Iliad*, xiv. 201. [3] *Iliad*, vii. 99.

And Xenophanes of Colophon seems to coincide with him, for he says:

"We all from water and earth are sprung."[1]

Euripides, however, [derives the universe] from earth and air, as one may ascertain from the following assertion of his:

"Mother of all, air and earth, I sing."[2]

But Empedocles [derives the universe] from four principles, expressing himself thus:

"Four roots of all things hear thou first:
Brilliant Jove, and life-giving Juno and Aidoneus,
And Nestis, that with tears bedews the Mortal Font."[3]

Ocellus, however, the Lucanian, and Aristotle, [derive the universe] from five [principles]; for, along with the four elements, they have assumed the [existence of a] fifth, and [that this is] a body with a circular motion; and they say that from this, things celestial have their being. But the disciples of Empedocles supposed the generation of the universe to have proceeded from six [principles]. For in the passage where he says, "Four roots of all things hear thou first," he produces generation out of four [principles]. When, however, he subjoins [the following words],—

"Ruinous Strife apart from these, equal in every point,
And with them Friendship equal in length and breadth,"[4] —

he also delivers six principles of the universe, four of them material—earth, water, fire, [and] air; but two of them formative—Friendship and Discord. The followers, however, of Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ, and of Democritus, and of Epicurus, and multitudes of others, have given it as their opinion that the generation of the universe [proceeds] from infinite [numbers of atoms]; and we have previously made partial mention of these philosophers. But Anaxagoras [derives the universe] from things similar to those that are being produced; whereas the followers of Democritus and Epicurus [derived the universe] from things both dissimilar

[1] See Karst. *Fragm.* ix. p. 46.

[2] Fabricius, in his Commentary on Sextus Empiricus, considers that this is a quotation from the Hymns of Euripides.

[3] V. 55–57, ed. Karst.

[4] V. 106, 107, ed. Karst.

[to the entities produced], and devoid of passion, that is, from atoms. But the followers of Heraclides of Pontus, and of Asclepiades, [derived the universe] from things dissimilar [to the entities produced], and capable of passion, as if from incongruous corpuscles. But the disciples of Plato affirm that these [entities] are from three principles—God, and Matter, and Exemplar. He divides matter, however, into four principles—fire, water, earth, [and] air. And [he says] that God is the Creator of this [matter], and that Mind is its exemplar.

Chapter iv.

Summary of the Opinions of Philosophers—*continued.*

Persuaded, then, that the principle of physiology is confessedly discovered to be encumbered with difficulties for all these philosophers, we ourselves also shall fearlessly declare concerning the examples of the truth, as to how they are, and [as] we have felt confident [that they are]. But we shall previously furnish an explanation, in the way of epitome, of the tenets of the heresiarchs, in order that, by our having set before our readers the tenets of all made well known by this [plan of treatment], we may exhibit the truth in a plain and familiar [form].

Chapter v.

The Naasseni.

But since it so appears expedient, let us begin first from the public worshippers of the serpent. The Naasseni call the first principle of the universe a Man, and that the same also is a Son of Man; and they divide this [man] into three portions. For they say one part of him is rational, and another psychical, but a third earthly. And they style him Adamas, and suppose that the knowledge [appertaining] to him is [the] originating cause of the capacity of knowing God. And [the Naassene asserts] that all these rational, and psychical, and earthly qualities have retired into Jesus, and that through Him these three substances simultaneously have

spoken unto the three genera of the universe. These allege that there are three kinds [of existence]—angelic, psychical, [and] earthly; and that there are three churches—angelic, psychical, [and] earthly; and that the names for these [are]—chosen, called, [and] captive. These are the heads of doctrine advanced by them, as far as one may briefly comprehend them. They affirm that James, the brother of the Lord, delivered these tenets to Mariamne, [by such a statement] belying both.

Chapter vi.

The Peratæ.

The Peratæ, however, viz. Ademes the Carystian, and Euphrates the Peratic, say that there is some one world (this is the denomination they use), and affirming that it is divided into three parts. But of the threefold division, according to them, there is one principle, just like an immense fountain, capable of being by reason divided into infinite segments. And the first segment, and the one of more proximity, according to them, is the triad, and is called a perfect good, [and] a paternal magnitude. But the second portion of the triad is a certain multitude of, as it were, infinite powers. The third [part], however, [is] formal. And the first is unbegotten;[1] whence they expressly affirm that there are three Gods, three Logoi, three minds, [and] three men. For when the division has been accomplished, to each part of the world they assign both Gods, and Logoi, and men, and the rest. But from above, from uncreatedness and the first segment of the world, when afterwards the world had attained to its consummation, [the Peratic affirms] that there came down, in the times of Herod, a certain man with a threefold nature, and a threefold body, and a threefold power, named Christ, and that He possesses from the three parts of the world in Himself all the concretions and capacities of the world. And they are disposed [to think] that

[1] Cruice supplies from Theodoret: "and the second [which is] good is self-begotten, and the third is generated."

this is what has been declared, "in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily."[1] And [they assert] that from the two worlds situated above—[namely,] both the unbegotten [one] and self-begotten [one]—there were borne down into this world in which we are, germs of all sorts of powers. And [they say] that Christ came down from above from uncreatedness, in order that, by His descent, all things that have been divided into three parts may be saved. For, says [the Peratic], the things that have been borne down from above will ascend through Him; and the things that have plotted against those that have been borne down are heedlessly rejected,[2] and sent away to be punished. And [the Peratic] states that there are two parts which are saved—[that is,] those that are situated above—by having been separated from corruption, and that the third is destroyed, which he calls a formal world. These also are the tenets of the Peratæ.

Chapter vii.

The Sethians.

But to the Sethians it seems that there exist three principles, which have been precisely defined. And each of the principles is fitted by nature for being able to be generated, as in a human soul every art whatsoever [is developed] which is [capable of being] learned. [The result is the same] as when a child, by being long conversant with a musical instrument, becomes [in adult life] a musician; or with geometry a geometrician, or with any [other] art, with a similar result. And the essences of the principles, [the Sethians] say, are light and darkness. And in the midst of these is pure spirit; and the spirit, they say, is that which is placed intermediate between darkness, which is below, and light, which is above. It is not spirit, as a current of wind or a certain gentle breeze which may be felt, but just as if some fragrance of ointment

[1] Col. ii. 9.

[2] ἀφίεται εἰχῇ: Bernays proposes ὀφιοειδῇ, *i.e.* being of the form of the serpent.

or incense made out of a refined mixture,—a power diffusing itself by some impulse of fragrance which is inconceivable and superior to what one can express. Since, therefore, the light is above and the darkness below, and the spirit is intermediate between these, the light, also, as a ray of sun, shines from above on the underlying darkness. And the fragrance of the spirit is wafted onwards, occupying an intermediate position, and proceeds forth, just as is diffused the odour of incense-offerings [when they are laid] upon the fire. Now the power of the things divided threefold being of this description, the power simultaneously of the spirit and of the light is below, in the darkness that is situated beneath. The darkness, however, they say, is a horrible water, into which the light along with the spirit is absorbed, and [thus] translated into a nature of this description. The darkness being then endued with intelligence, and knowing that when the light has been removed from it the darkness continues desolate, devoid of radiance [and] splendour, power [and] efficiency, as well as impotent, [therefore,] by every effort of reflection and of reason, this makes an exertion to comprise in itself brilliancy, and a scintillation of light, along with the fragrance of the spirit. And of this they introduce the following image, expressing themselves thus: Just as the pupil of the eye appears dark beneath the underlying humours, but is illuminated by the spirit, so the darkness earnestly strives after the spirit, and has with itself all the powers which wish to retire and return. Now these are indefinitely infinite, from which, when commingled, all things are figured and generated like seals. For just as a seal, when brought into contact with wax, produces a figure, [and yet the seal] itself remains of itself what it was, so also the powers, by coming into communion [one with the other], form all the infinite kinds of animals. [The Sethians assert] that, therefore, from the primary concourse of the three principles was generated an image of [the] great seal, [namely] heaven and earth, having a form like a womb, possessing a navel in the midst. And so that the rest of the figures of all things were, like heaven and earth, fashioned similar to a womb.

And [the Sethians] say that from the water was produced a first-begotten principle, [namely] a vehement and boisterous wind, and that it is a cause of all generation, which creates a sort of heat and motion in the world from the motion of the waters. And [the Sethians maintain] that this [wind] is fashioned like the hissing of a serpent into a perfect image. And on this the world gazes and hurries into generation, being inflamed as a womb; and from thence they are disposed [to think] that the generation of the universe has arisen. And they say that this wind constitutes a spirit, and that a perfect God has arisen from the fragrance of the waters, and that of the spirit, and [from] the brilliant light. And [the Sethians affirm] that mind exists after the mode of generation from a female—[meaning by mind] the supernal spark—and that, having been mingled beneath with the compounds of body, it earnestly desires to flee away, that escaping it may depart and not find dissolution on account of the deficiency in the waters. Wherefore it is in the habit of crying aloud from the mixture of the waters, according to the Psalmist, as they say, "For the entire anxiety of the light above is, that it may deliver the spark which is below from the Father beneath,"[1] [that is, from] wind. And [the Father] creates heat and disturbance, and produces for Himself a Son, [namely] mind, which, [as] they allege, is not the peculiar [offspring] of Himself. And [these heretics affirm that the Son], on beholding the perfect Logos of the supernal light, underwent a transformation, and in [the] shape of a serpent entered into a womb, in order that he might be able to recover that Mind [which is] the scintillation from the light. And that this is what has been declared, "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant."[2] And the wretched and baneful Sethians are disposed [to think] that this constitutes the servile form [alluded to by the Apostle]. These, then, are the assertions which likewise these [Sethians] advance.

[1] The commentators refer us to Ps. xxix. 3.

[2] Phil. ii. 6, 7.

Chapter viii.

Simon Magus.

But that very sapient [fellow] Simon makes his statement thus, that there is an indefinite power, [and] that this is the root of the universe. And this indefinite power, he says, which is fire, is in itself not anything which is simple, as the gross bulk [of speculators maintain], when they assert that there are four incomposite elements, and have supposed fire, [as one of these,] to be uncompounded. [Simon, on the other hand, alleges] that the nature of fire is twofold; and one portion of this twofold [nature] he calls a something secret, and another [a something] manifest. And [he asserts] that the secret are concealed in the manifest [parts] of the fire, and that the manifest [parts] of the fire have been produced from the secret. And he says that all the parts of the fire, visible and invisible, have been supposed to be in possession of a capacity of perception. The world, therefore, he says, that is begotten, has been produced from the unbegotten fire. And it commenced, he says, to exist thus: The Unbegotten One took six primal roots of the principle of generation from the principle of that fire. For [Simon maintains] that these roots have been generated in pairs from the fire; and these he denominates Mind and Intelligence, Voice and Name, Ratiocination and Reflection. And [he asserts] that in the six roots, at the same time, resides the indefinite power, [which] he affirms to be Him that stood, stands, and will stand. And when this [one] has been formed into a figure, He will, [according to this heretic,] exist in the six powers substantially [and] potentially. [And He will be] in magnitude and perfection one and the same with that unbegotten and indefinite power, possessing no attribute in any respect more deficient than that unbegotten, and unalterable, and indefinite power. If, however, [He who stood, stands, and will stand,] continues to exist only potentially in the six powers, and has not assumed any definite figure, He becomes, says [Simon], utterly evanescent, and perishes. [And this takes place] in the same manner

as the grammatical or geometrical capacity, which, though it has been [implanted] in man's soul, [suffers extinction] when it does not obtain [the assistance of] a master of [either of these] arts, who would indoctrinate [that soul into its principles]. Now Simon affirms that he himself is He who stood, stands, [and] will stand, and that He is a power that is above all things. So far, then, for the opinions of Simon likewise.

Chapter ix.

Valentinus.

Valentinus,[1] however, and the adherents of this school, though they agree in asserting that the originating principle of the universe is [the] Father, still they are impelled into the adoption of a contrary opinion [respecting Him]. For some of them [maintain] that [the Father] is solitary and generative; whereas others [hold] the impossibility, [in His as in other cases,] of procreation without a female. They therefore add Sige as [the] spouse of this [Father], and style [the Father] Himself Bythos. From this [Father] and His spouse some [allege] that there have been six projections,—[namely,] Nous and Aletheia, Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Ecclesia,—and that this constitutes the procreative Ogdoad. And [the Valentinians maintain] that those projections which have taken place within the limit have been again denominated ["those] within the Pleroma"—[these are the first;] and the second are "those without the Pleroma;" and the third, "those without the Limit." Now the generation of these constitutes the Hysterema [Acamoth]. And he asserts that what has been generated from an Æon, [that both exists] in [the] Hysterema [and] has been projected [beyond the Limit], is the Creator. But [Valentinus] is not disposed [to affirm what is thus generated] to be primal Deity, but speaks in detractive terms both of Him and the things made by Him. And [this heretic asserts] that Christ came down

[1] This section on Valentinus differs considerably from what Hippolytus has already stated concerning this heretic.

from [the Æons] within the Pleroma for the salvation of the spirit who had erred. This spirit, [according to the Valentinians,] resides in our inner man; and they say that this [inner man] obtains salvation on account of this indwelling [spirit]. [Valentinus,] however, determines [to uphold the doctrine] that the flesh is not saved, and styles it "a leathern tunic," and the perishable [portion of] man. I have [already] declared these tenets in the way of an epitome, inasmuch as in their systems there exists enlarged matter for discussion, and a variety of opinions. In this manner, then, it seems proper also to the school of Valentinus [to propound their opinions].

Chapter x.

Basilides.

But Basilides also himself affirms that there is a non-existent God, who, being non-existent, has made the non-existent world that has been formed out of things that are not. [And this creation He has accomplished] by casting down a certain seed, as it were a grain of mustard-seed, having in itself stem, leaves, branches, [and] fruit. Or [this seed is] as a peacock's egg, comprising in itself the varied multitude of colours. And this, say [the Basilidians], constitutes the seed of the world, from which all things have been produced. For [they maintain] that it comprises in itself all things, as it were those that [as yet] are non-existent, and which it has been predetermined to be brought into existence by the non-existent Deity. There was, then, he says, in the seed itself a threefold Sonship, in all respects of the same substance with the non-existent God, which has been begotten from things that are not. And of this Sonship, divided into three parts, one portion of it was refined, and another gross, and another requiring purification. The refined portion, when first the earliest putting down of the seed was accomplished by the non-existent God, immediately burst forth, and ascended upwards, and proceeded towards the non-existent [Deity]. For every nature yearns after

that [God] on account of the excess of [His] beauty, but different [creatures desire Him] from different causes. The more gross portion, however, still continues in the seed; and inasmuch as it is a certain imitative [nature], it was not able to soar upwards, for it was more gross than the subtle part. [The more gross portion,] however, equipped itself with the Holy Spirit, as it were with wings; for the Sonship, [thus] arrayed, shows kindness to this [Spirit], and [in turn] receives kindness. The third Sonship, however, requires purification, [and therefore] this continued in the conglomeration of all germs, and this displays and receives kindness. And [Basilides asserts] that there is something which is called "world," and something else [which is called] supramundane; for [entities] are distributed by him into two primary divisions. And what is intermediate between these he calls "Conterminous Holy Spirit," and [this Spirit] has [in itself] the fragrance of the Sonship.

[But] from the conglomeration of all germs of the cosmical seed burst forth and was begotten the Great Archon, the head of the world, [and an Æon] of inexpressible beauty and size. This [Archon] having raised Himself as far as the firmament, supposed that there was not another above Himself. And [accordingly] He became more brilliant and powerful than all the underlying [Æons], with the exception of the Sonship that had been left beneath, but which He was not aware was more wise than Himself. This one having His attention turned to the creation of the world, first begat a son unto Himself, superior to Himself; and this [son] He caused to sit on His own right hand, and this these [Basilidians] allege is the Ogdoad. [The great Archon] Himself, then, produces the entire celestial creation. And another Archon ascended from [the conglomeration of] all the germs, [who was] greater than all the underlying [Æons], except the Sonship that had been left behind, yet far inferior to the former one. And they style this [second Archon] a Hebdomad. He is Maker, and Creator, and Controller of all things [that are] beneath Him, and this [Archon] produced for Himself a Son more prudent and wiser [than Himself]. Now they assert that all

these things exist according to the predetermination of that non-existent [God], and that there exist also worlds and intervals that are infinite. And [the Basilidians affirm] that upon Jesus, who was born of Mary, came the power of the gospel, which descended and illuminated the Son both of the Ogdoad and of the Hebdomad. [And this took place] for the purpose of enlightening and distinguishing from the different orders of beings, and purifying the Sonship that had been left behind for conferring benefits on souls, and the receiving benefits in turn. And they say that themselves are sons, who are in the world for this cause, that by teaching they may purify souls, and along with the Sonship may ascend to the Father above, [from] whom proceeded the first Sonship. And they allege that the world endures until the period when all souls may have repaired thither along with the Sonship. These, however, are the opinions which Basilides, who detailed them as prodigies, is not ashamed to advance..

Chapter xi.

Justinus.

But Justinus also himself attempted to establish similar opinions with these, and expresses himself thus: That there are three unbegotten principles of the universe, two [of them] males, [and] one [of them] female. And of the males one principle is denominated "Good." Now this alone is called after this mode, [and is] endued with a foreknowledge of the universe. And the other [is] Father of all generated entities, [and is] devoid of foreknowledge, and unknown, and invisible, and is called Elohim. The female [principle is] devoid of foreknowledge, passionate, with two minds, [and] with two bodies, as we have minutely detailed in the [previous] discourses concerning this [heretic's system. This female principle,] in her upper parts, as far as the groin, is, [the Justinians say,] a virgin, whereas from the groin downwards a snake. And such is denominated Edem and Israel. [This heretic] alleges that these are the principles of the universe, from which all things have been produced.

And [he asserts] that Elohim, without foreknowledge, passed into inordinate desire for the half virgin, and that having had intercourse with her, he begot twelve angels; and the names of these he states [to be those already given]. And [of these] the paternal ones are connected with the father, and the maternal with the mother. And [Justinus maintains] that these are [the trees of Paradise], concerning which Moses has spoken in an allegorical sense the things written in the law. And [Justinus affirms] that all things were made by Elohim and Edem. And [he says] that animals, with the rest [of the creatures of this kind], are from the part resembling a beast, whereas man from the parts above the groin. And Edem [is supposed by Justinus] to have deposited in [man] himself the soul, which was her own power, [but Elohim the spirit.] And [Justinus] alleges that this Elohim, after having learned [his origin], ascended to the Good [Being], and deserted Edem. And [this heretic asserts that Edem], enraged on account of such [treatment], concocted all this plot against the spirit of Elohim which he deposited in man. And [Justinus informs us] that for this reason the Father sent Baruch, and issued directions to the prophets, in order that the spirit of Elohim might be delivered, and that all might be seduced away from Edem. But [this heretic] alleges that even Hercules was a prophet, and that he was worsted by Omphale, that is, by Babel; and [the Justinians] call the latter Venus. And [they say] that afterwards, in the days of Herod, Jesus was born son of Mary and Joseph, to whom he alleges Baruch had spoken. And [Justinus asserts] that Edem plotted against this [Jesus], but could not deceive him; and for this reason, that she caused him to be crucified. And the spirit of Jesus, [says Justinus,] ascended to the Good [Being]. And [the Justinians maintain] that the spirits of all who thus obey those silly and futile discourses will be saved, and that the body and soul of Edem have been left behind. But the foolish Justinus calls this [Edem] Earth.

Chapter xii.

The Docetæ.

Now the Docetæ advance assertions of this description: that the primal Deity is as a seed of the fig-tree; and that from this proceeded three Æons as the stem, and the leaves and the fruit; and that these projected thirty Æons, each [of them] ten; and that they were all united in decades, but differed only in positions, as some were before others. And [the Docetæ assert] that infinite Æons were indefinitely projected, and that all these were hermaphrodites. And [they say] that these [Æons] formed a design of simultaneously going together into one Æon, and that from this the intermediate Æon [and] from [the] Virgin Mary they begot a Saviour of all. [And this Redeemer was] like in every respect to the first seed of the fig-tree, but inferior in this respect, from the fact of His having been begotten; for the seed whence the fig-tree springs is unbegotten. [This,] then, was the great light of the Æons—it was entirely radiance—which receives no adornment, and comprises in itself [the] forms of all animals. And the Docetæ maintain that this [light], on proceeding into the underlying chaos, afforded a cause [of existence] to the things that were produced, and those actually existing, and that on coming down from above it impressed on chaos beneath the forms of everlasting species. For the third Æon, which had tripled itself, when he perceives that all his characteristic attributes were forcibly drawn off into the nether darkness, and not being ignorant both of the terror of darkness and the simplicity of light, proceeded to create heaven; and after having rendered firm what intervened, He separated the darkness from the light. As all the species of the third Æon were, he says, overcome by the darkness, the figure even of this [Æon] became a living fire, having been generated by light. And from this [source], they allege, was generated the great Archon, regarding whom Moses converses, saying that He is a fiery Deity and Demiurge, who also continually alters the forms of all [Æons] into bodies. And the [Docetæ] allege that these are the

souls for whose sake the Saviour was begotten, and that He points out the way through which the souls will escape that are [now] overpowered [by darkness]. And [the Docetæ maintain] that Jesus arrayed Himself in that only-begotten power, and that for this reason He could not be seen by any, on account of the excessive magnitude of His glory. And they say that all the occurrences took place with Him as it has been written in the Gospels.

Chapter xiii.

Monoïmus.

But the followers of Monoïmus the Arabian assert that the originating principle of the universe is a primal man and son of man; and that, as Moses states, the things that have been produced were produced not by the primal man, but by the Son of that primal man, [yet] not by the entire [Son], but by part of Him. And [Monoïmus asserts] that the Son of man is iota, which stands for ten, the principal number in which is [inherent] the subsistence of all number [in general, and] through which every number [in particular] consists, as well as the generation of the universe, fire, air, water, [and] earth. But inasmuch as this is one iota and one tittle, [and] what is perfect [emanates] from what is perfect, [or, in other words,] a tittle flows down from above, containing all things in itself; [therefore,] whatsoever things also the man possesses, the Father of the Son of man [possesses likewise]. Moses, therefore, says that the world was made in six days, that is, by six powers, out of which the world was made by the one tittle. For cubes, and octahedrons, and pyramids, and all figures similar to these, having equal superficies, out of which consist fire, air, water, [and] earth, have been produced from numbers comprehended in that simple tittle of the iota, which is Son of man. When, therefore, says [Monoïmus], Moses mentions the rod's being brandished for the purpose [of bringing] the plagues upon Egypt, he alludes allegorically to the [alterations of the] world of iota; nor did he frame more than ten plagues. If, however, says he, you

wish to become acquainted with the universe, search within yourself who is it that says, "My soul, my flesh, [and] my mind," and who is it that appropriates each one thing unto himself, as another [would do] for himself. Understand that this is a perfect [one] arising from [one that is] perfect, and that he considers as his own all so-called nonentities and all entities. These, then, are the opinions of Monoïmus also.

Chapter xiv.

Tatian.

Tatian, however, similarly with Valentinus and the others, says that there are certain invisible Æons, and that by some one of these the world below has been created, and the things existing [in it]. And he habituates himself to a very cynical[1] mode of life, and almost in nothing differs from Marcion, as appertaining both to his slanders, and the regulations enacted concerning marriage.

Chapter xv.

Marcion and Cerdo.

But Marcion, of Pontus, and Cerdon,[2] his preceptor, themselves also lay down that there are three principles of the universe—good, just, [and] matter. Some disciples, however, of these add [a fourth], saying, good, just, evil, [and] matter. But they all affirm that the good [Being] has made nothing at all, though some denominate the just one [likewise] evil, whereas others that his only title is that of just. And they allege that [the just Being] made all things out of subjacent matter, for that He made them not well, but irrationally. For it is requisite that the things made should be similar to the maker; wherefore also they thus employ the evangelical parables, saying, "A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit,"[3]

[1] The allusion here is to the shamelessness of the Cynics in regard to sexual intercourse.

[2] The account here given of Cerdon and Marcion does not accurately correspond with that already furnished by Hippolytus of these heretics.

[3] Matt. vii. 18.

and the rest of the passage. [Now Marcion] alleges that the conceptions badly devised by the [Just One] Himself constituted the allusion in this passage. And [he says] that Christ is the Son of the good Being, and was sent for the salvation of souls by Him whom he styles the inner man. And he asserts that He appeared as a man [though] not being a man, and as incarnate [though] not being incarnate. [And he maintains] that His manifestation was only phantastic, and that He underwent neither generation nor passion except in appearance. And he will not allow that flesh rises again; but in affirming marriage to be destruction, he leads his disciples towards a very cynical life. And by these [means] he imagines that he annoys the Creator, if he should abstain from the things that are made or appointed by Him.

Chapter xvi.

Apelles.

But Apelles, a disciple of this [heretic], was displeased at the statements advanced by his preceptor, as we have previously declared, and by another theory supposed that there are four gods. And the first of these he alleges to be the "Good Being," whom the prophets did not know, and Christ to be His Son. And the second [God he affirms] to be the Creator of the universe, and Him he does not wish to be a God. And the third [God he states] to be the fiery one that was manifested; and the fourth [God] to be an evil one. And [Apelles] calls these angels; and by adding [to their number] Christ likewise, he will assert Him to be a fifth [God]. But [this heretic] is in the habit of devoting his attention to a book which he calls "Revelations" of a certain Philumene, whom he considers a prophetess. And he affirms that Christ did not receive his flesh from the Virgin, but from the adjacent substance of the world. In this manner he composed his treatises against the law and the prophets, and attempts to abolish them as if they had spoken falsehoods, and had not known God. And [Apelles],

similarly with Marcion, affirms that the different sorts of flesh are destroyed.

Chapter xvii.

Cerinthus.

Cerinthus, however, himself having been trained in Egypt, determined that the world was not made by the first God, but by a certain angelic power. [And this power was] far separated and distant from that sovereignty which is above the entire circle of existence, and it knows not [the] God [that is] above all things. And he says that Jesus was not born of a virgin, but that He sprang from Joseph and Mary [as their] son, similar to the rest of men; and that He excelled in justice, and prudence, and understanding above all the rest [of mankind]. And [Cerinthus maintains] that, after Jesus' baptism, Christ came down in the form of a dove upon Him from the sovereignty that is above the whole circle of existence, and that then He proceeded to preach the unknown Father, and to work miracles. And [this heretic asserts] that, at the conclusion of the passion, Christ flew away from Jesus,[1] but that Jesus suffered, and that Christ remained incapable of suffering, being a spirit of [the] Lord.

Chapter xviii.

The Ebionæans.

But the Ebionæans assert that the world is made by the true God, and [they speak of] Christ in a similar manner with Cerinthus. They live, however, in all respects according to the law of Moses, alleging that they are thus justified.

Chapter xix.

Theodotus.

But Theodotus of Byzantium introduced a heresy of the following description, alleging that all things were created by

[1] Or, "the Son;" or, "the Son of Mary" (Cruice).

the true God; whereas that Christ, he states, in a manner similar to that advocated by the Gnostics already mentioned, made His appearance according to some mode of this description. And [Theodotus affirms] that Christ is a man of a kindred nature with all [men], but that He surpasses them in this respect, that, according to the counsel of God, He had been born of a virgin, and the Holy Ghost had overshadowed [His mother. This heretic, however, maintained that Jesus] had not assumed flesh in [the womb of] the virgin, but that afterwards Christ descended upon Jesus at His baptism in form of a dove. And from this circumstance, [the followers of Theodotus] affirm that at first miraculous powers did not acquire operating energy in [the Saviour] Himself. [Theodotus,] however, determines to deny the divinity of Christ. Now, opinions of this description were advanced by Theodotus.

Chapter xx.

Melchisedecians.

And others also make all their assertions similarly with those which have been already specified, introducing one only alteration, viz. in respect of regarding Melchisedec as a certain power. But they allege that [Melchisedec] himself is superior to all powers; and according to his image, they are desirous of [maintaining] that Christ likewise is [generated].

Chapter xxi.

The Phrygians (Montanists).

The Phrygians, however, derive the principles of their heresy from a certain Montanus, and Priscilla, and Maximilla, and regard these wretched women as prophetesses, and Montanus as a prophet. In respect, however, of what appertains to the origin and creation of the universe, [the Phrygians] are supposed to express themselves correctly; while in the tenets which they enunciate respecting Christ, they have not irrelevantly formed their opinions. But they are seduced into

error in common with [the heretics] previously alluded to, and devote their attention to the discourses of these above the Gospels, thus laying down regulations concerning novel and strange fasts.[1]

Chapter xxii.

The Phrygians (Montanists)—*continued.*

But others of them, being attached to the heresy of the Noetians, entertain similar opinions to those relating to the silly women [of the Phrygians], and to Montanus. As regards, however, the truths appertaining to the Father of the entire of existing things, they are guilty of blasphemy, because they assert that He is Son and Father, visible and invisible, begotten and unbegotten, mortal and immortal. These have taken occasion from a certain Noetus [to put forward their heresy].

Chapter xxiii.

Noetus and Callistus.

But in like manner, also, Noetus, being by birth a native of Smyrna, and a fellow addicted to reckless babbling, as well as crafty withal, introduced [among us] this heresy which originated from one Epigonus. [This heresy] reached [Rome], and was adopted by Cleomenes, and so has continued to this day among his successors. [Now Noetus] asserts that there is one Father and God of the universe, and that He made all things, and was imperceptible to those that exist when He might [so] desire. [Noetus maintained that the Father] then appeared when He wished; and He is invisible when He is not seen, but visible when He is seen. And [this heretic also alleges that the Father] is unbegotten when He is not generated, but begotten when He is born of a virgin; as also that He is not subject to suffering, and is immortal when He does not suffer or die. When, how-

[1] The MS. has the obviously corrupt reading παραδόσεις, which Duncker alters into παραδόξους (strange).

ever, His passion[1] came upon Him, [Noetus allows that the Father] suffers and dies. And [the Noetians] suppose that this Father Himself is called Son, [and *vice versa*,] in reference to the events which at their own proper periods happen to them severally.

Callistus corroborated the heresy of these [Noetians], but we have [already] carefully explained the details of his life. And [Callistus] himself produced likewise a heresy, and derived its starting-points from these [Noetians],—namely, so far as he acknowledges that there is one Father and God, [viz.] the Creator of the universe, and that this [God] is spoken of, and called by the name of Son, yet that in substance He is one Spirit. For Spirit, [as] the Deity, is, he says, not any [being] different from the Logos, or the Logos from the Deity; [and] therefore this one person, [according to Callistus,] is divided nominally, but substantially not so. He supposes this one Logos to be God, and affirms that there was [in the case of the Word] an incarnation. And he is disposed [to maintain], that He who was seen in the flesh and was crucified[2] is Son, but that the Father it is who dwells in Him. [Callistus thus] at one time branches off into the opinion of Noetus, but at another into that of Theodotus, and holds no sure doctrine. These, then, are the opinions of Callistus.

Chapter xxiv.

Hermogenes.

But one Hermogenes himself also being desirous of saying something, asserted that God made all things out of

[1] Cruice suggests the addition of the words "and death," in order to correspond with the remainder of the sentence. The punctuation followed above is conjectural, but gives substantially the meaning of the text as settled by Duncker.

[2] σταυρούμενον. The MS. reads κρατούμενον, which would mean seized or vanquished. The former yields no meaning, and the latter conveys an erroneous conception regarding the Blessed Lord, who, in yielding to suffering and death, showed Himself more than conqueror of both (John x. 17, 18).

matter coeval [with Himself], and subject [to His design]. For [Hermogenes][1] held it to be an impossibility that God should make the things that were made, except out of existent things.

Chapter xxv.

The Elchasaites.

But certain others, introducing as it were some novel [tenet], appropriated [parts of their system] from all heresies, and procured a strange volume, which bore on the title-page the name of one Elchasai. These, in like manner, acknowledge that the principles of the universe were originated by the Deity. They do not, however, confess that there is but one Christ, but that there is one that is superior [to the rest], and that He is transfused into many bodies frequently, and was now in Jesus. And, in like manner, [these heretics maintain] that at one time [Christ] was begotten of God, and at another time became the Spirit, and at another time [was born] of a virgin, and at another time not so. And [they affirm] that likewise this Jesus afterwards was continually being transfused into bodies, and was manifested in many [different bodies] at [different] times. And they resort to incantations and baptisms in their confession of elements. And they occupy themselves with bustling activity in regard of astrological and mathematical science, and of the arts of sorcery. But [also] they allege themselves to have powers of prescience.

Chapter xxvi.

Jewish Chronology.

. . . [Abraham, by the command][2] of God, transfers his residence from Haran, a city of Mesopotamia, into the

[1] Cruice considers that Theodoret has taken his account (*Hær. fab.* i. 19) from this tenth book of *The Refutation.*

[2] There is here an hiatus, which Abbe Cruice thinks is caused by those portions of the MS. being lost, in which Hippolytus furnishes his Sum-

country which is now called Palestine and Judæa, but then the region of Canaan. Now, concerning this territory, we have in part, but still not negligently, rendered an account in other discourses. From the circumstance, then, [of this migration] is traceable the beginning of an increase [of population] in Judæa, which obtained its name from Judah, fourth son of Jacob, whose [name] was also called [Israel], from the fact that a race of kings would be descended from him. Abraham removes from Mesopotamia [when 75 years old, and] when 100 years old he begat Isaac. But Isaac, when 60 years of age, begat Jacob. And Jacob, when 86 years old, begat Levi; and Levi, at 40 years of age, begat Caath;[1] and Caath was four years of age when he went down with Jacob into Egypt. Therefore the entire period during which Abraham sojourned, and the entire family descended from him by Isaac, in the country then called Canaanitis, was 215 years. But of this [Abraham] the father is Thare,[2] and of this [Thare the father is] Nachor, and of this [Nachor the father is] Serag, [and of this Serag the father is Reu, and of this Reu the father is Peleg, and of this Peleg[3] the father is Heber.] And so it comes to pass that [the Jews] are denominated by the name of Hebrews. [In the time of Phaleg, however, arose the dispersion of nations.] Now these nations were 72,[4] [corresponding with the number of

mary of the Jewish Sects. The object of introducing these genealogical and ethnic remarks might at first seem irrelevant; but they are intended to be subservient to Hippolytus' *Demonstration of the Truth*, by proving the superior antiquity, as coming down from Abraham, of revelation above all pagan philosophy. Abbe Cruice refers us to his work (pp. 72–77), *Etudes sur de nouveaux documents historiques empruntés à l'ouvrage des* φιλοσοφούμενα, Paris 1853.

[1] That is, Kohath (see Gen. xlvi. 11).

[2] That is, Tera (see Gen. xi. 26).

[3] Gen. xi. 16.

[4] The system of seventy-two nations here adopted by Hippolytus is that advanced by Jewish writers generally, and has been probably deduced from the tenth chapter of Genesis. Another historian of the heresies of the church adopts it—Epiphanius. A chronographer, however, contemporary with Hippolytus—Julius Africanus—discarded this number, as is proved by the fragments of his work preserved by Eusebius and Syncellus.

Abraham's children.] And the names of these [nations] we have likewise set down in other books, not even omitting this [point] in its own proper place. [And the reason of our particularity] is our desire to manifest to those who are of a studious disposition the love which we cherish towards the Divinity, and the indubitable knowledge respecting the Truth, which in the course of our [literary] labours[1] we have acquired possession of. But of this Heber the father is Salah; and of this [Salah the father is] Caïnan; and of this [Caïnan the father is] Arphaxad, whose [father] is Shem; and of this [Shem the father is] Noah. And in [Noah's] time there occurred a flood throughout the entire world, which neither Egyptians, nor Chaldæans, nor Greeks recollect; for the inundations which took place in the age of Ogyges and Deucalion prevailed only in the localities where these dwelt. There are, then, in the case of these [patriarchs—that is, from Noah to Heber inclusive]—5 generations, [and] 495 years.[2] This [Noah], inasmuch as he was a most religious and God-loving man, alone, with wife and children, and the three wives of these, escaped the flood that ensued. And he owed his preservation to an ark; and both the dimensions and relics of this [ark] are, as we have explained, shown to this day in the mountains called Ararat, which are situated in the direction of the country of the Adiabeni. It is then possible for those who are disposed to investigate the subject industriously, to perceive how clearly has been demonstrated [the existence of] a nation of worshippers of [the true] God, more ancient than all [the] Chaldæans, Egyptians, [and] Greeks. What

[1] The allusion here made constitutes a strong reason for ascribing *The Refutation* to Hippolytus, the author of which here states that he had written a *Chronicle*. But the fragment in our text corresponds with a Latin translation of a *Chronicon* given by Fabricius, and bearing the name of Hippolytus. The terms in which Hippolytus delivers himself above imply that he was the inventor of a chronological system, thus harmonizing with the fact that the Paschal Cycle, though ever so faulty, was selected out of all his writings for being inscribed on Hippolytus' statue, dug up on the road to Tivoli A.D. 1551, in the vicinity of Rome, near the church of St. Lorenzo.

[2] Cruice has 435 years.

necessity, however, is there at present to specify those who, anterior to Noah, were both devout men, and permitted to hold converse with [the true] God, inasmuch as, so far as the subject taken in hand is concerned, this testimony in regard of the antiquity [of the people of God] is sufficient?

Chapter xxvii.

Jewish Chronology—*continued.*

But since it does not seem irrational to prove that these nations that had their attention engrossed with [the speculations] of philosophy are of more modern date than those that had habitually worshipped [the true] God, it is reasonable that we should state both whence the family of these [latter originated]; and that when they took up their abode in these countries, they did not receive a name from the actual localities, but claimed for themselves [denominations derived] from those who were primarily born, and had inhabited these. [Now] Noah had three sons—Shem, Ham, [and] Japheth. [But] from these the entire family of man was multiplied, and every quarter [of the globe] owes its inhabitants [in the first instance to these]. For the word of God [addressed] to them prevailed, when [the Lord] said, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth." [And] so great efficacy had [that] one word, [that] from the three [sons of Noah] are begotten in [the] family 72 children,—[viz.] from Shem, 25; from Japheth, 15; [and] from Ham, 32. Unto Ham, however, these 32 children are born in accordance with previous declarations. [And among Ham's children are]: Canaan, from whom [are descended] the Canaanites; Mizraim, from whom [are descended] the Egyptians; Cush, from whom [are descended] the Ethiopians; [and] Phut, from whom [are descended] the Libyans. These, according to the language [prevalent] among them, are up to the present day styled by the appellation of their ancestors; nay, even in the Greek tongue they are called by the names by which they have been now denominated. But even supposing that neither these localities had been pre-

viously inhabited, nor that it could be proved that a race of men from the beginning existed there, nevertheless these sons of Noah, a worshipper of God, are [quite sufficient to prove the point at issue. For it is evident that Noah] himself must have been a disciple of devout people, for which reason he escaped the tremendous, though transient, threat of water.

[But the foregoing facts are conclusive; and admitting their truth,] how, [I ask,] would not the worshippers of [the true] God be of greater antiquity than all [the] Chaldæans, Egyptians, [and] Greeks, for we must bear in mind that the father of these [Gentile nations] was born from this Japheth, and received the name Javan, and became the progenitor of Greeks and Ionians? Now, if the nations that devoted themselves to questions concerning philosophy are shown to belong to a period altogether more recent than the race of the worshippers of God as well as [the time of] the deluge, how would not the nations of the barbarians, and as many [tribes] as in the world are known and unknown, appear to belong to a more modern epoch than these? Therefore become adepts in this doctrine, and learn, ye Greeks, Egyptians, Chaldæans, and the entire race of men, what the nature of God is, and what His well-arranged creation from us who are the friends of God. And we have cultivated this [system], not expressing ourselves in mere pompous language, but executing our treatises in [terms that prove our] knowledge of truth and our practice of good sense, our object being the demonstration of His [nature].

Chapter xxviii.

The Doctrine of the Truth.

[The] one God,[1] the first and only [Deity], both Creator

[1] The margin of the MS. has the words "Origen and Origen's opinion." This seemed to confirm the criticism which ascribes *The Refutation* to Origen. But even supposing Origen not the author, the copyer of the MS. might have written Origen's name on the margin, as indicating the transcriber's opinion concerning the coincidence of creed between Origen

and Lord of all, had nothing coeval [with Himself], not infinite chaos, nor measureless water or solid earth, nor dense air, not warm fire, nor refined spirit, nor the azure canopy[1] of the stupendous firmament. But He was One, alone in Himself. By an exercise of His will He created things that are, which antecedently had no existence, except that He willed to make them. For He is fully acquainted with whatever is about to take place, for foreknowledge also is present to Him. The different principles, however, of what will come into existence, He first fabricated, [viz.] fire and spirit, water and earth, from which diverse [elements] He proceeded to form His own creation. And some objects [in it] He formed of one essence, but others He compounded from two, and others from three, and others from four [substances]. And those [objects formed] of one [substance] were immortal, for [in their case] dissolution does not follow, for what is one will never be dissolved. Those [objects], on the other hand, which are formed out of two, or three, or four [substances], are dissoluble; wherefore also are they named mortal. For this has been denominated death, namely, the dissolution of connected [bodies]. I now therefore think that I have sufficiently answered those endued with a sound mind, who, if they are desirous of additional instruction, and are disposed accurately to investigate the substances of these things, and the causes of the entire creation, will become acquainted with these points should they peruse a work of ours comprised [under the title], *Concerning the Substance of the Universe*.[2] I consider, however, that at present it is

and the author of *The Refutation*. The fact, however, is, that the doctrine of eternal punishment, asserted in the concluding chapter of *The Refutation*, was actually controverted by Origen. (See translator's Introductory Notice.)

[1] ὀροφήν (Scott). The MS. has μορφήν.

[2] Here we have another reference intimately bearing on the authorship of *The Refutation*. What follows corresponds with a fragment having a similar title to that stated above, first published by Le Moyne, and inserted in Fabricius (i. pp. 220-222) as the work of Hippolytus. Photius mentions this work, and gives an extract from it corresponding with what is furnished by Hippolytus. Photius, however, mentions that

enough to elucidate those causes of which the Greeks, not being aware, glorified, in pompous phraseology, the parts of creation, while they remained ignorant of the Creator. And from these the heresiarchs have taken occasion, and have transformed the statements previously made by those [Greeks] into similar doctrines, and thus have framed ridiculous heresies.

Chapter xxix.

The Doctrine of the Truth—*continued.*

Therefore this solitary and supreme Deity, by an exercise of reflection, brought forth the Logos first, [that is,] not the word in the sense [of being articulated by] voice, but as a ratiocination of the universe, conceived and residing [in the divine mind]. Him alone He produced from existing things; for the Father Himself constituted existence, and the being born from Him was the cause of all things that are produced. The Logos was in [the Father] Himself, bearing the will of His progenitor, and not being unacquainted with the mind of the Father. For simultaneously[1] with His procession from His Progenitor, inasmuch as He is this [Progenitor's] first-born, He has, as a voice in Himself, the ideas conceived in the Father. And so it was, that when the Father ordered the world to come into existence, the Logos one by one completed [each object of creation, thus] pleasing God. And some

the book *On the Substance of the Universe* was said to be written by Josephus, but discovers in marginal notes the ascription of it to Caius. But Caius cannot be the writer, since Photius states that the author of *The Labyrinth* affirmed that he had written *On the Substance of the Universe.* Now Hippolytus informs us that he is author of *The Labyrinth.* Hippolytus thus refers to three of his works in *The Refutation:* (1) ἕτεραι βίβλοι, *i.e.* on Chronology; (2) *Concerning the Substance of the Universe;* (3) *Little Labyrinth.* Except Hippolytus and Photius refer to different works in speaking of *The Labyrinth,* the foregoing settles the question of the authorship of *The Refutation.*

[1] This passage is differently rendered, according as we read φωνῇ with Bunsen, or φωνήν with Dr. Wordsworth. The latter also alters the reading of the MS. (at the end of the next sentence), ἀπετελεῖτο ἀρίσκων Θεῷ, into ἀπετελεῖ τὸ ἄρεσκον, "he carried into effect what was pleasing to the Deity."

things which multiply by generation[1] He formed male and female; but whatsoever beings were [designed] for service and ministration [He made] either male, or not requiring females, or neither male nor female. For even the primary substances of these, which were formed out of nonentities, [viz.] fire and spirit, water and earth, are neither male nor female; nor could male or female proceed from any one of these, were it not that God, who is the source of all authority, wished that [the] Logos might render assistance[2] [in accomplishing a production of this kind]. I confess that angels are of fire, and I maintain that female spirits are not present with them. And I am of opinion that sun and moon and stars, in like manner, [are produced] from fire and spirit, and are neither male nor female. And the will of the Creator is, that swimming and winged animals are from water, male and female. For so God, whose will it was, ordered that there should exist a moist substance, endued with productive power. And in like manner [God commanded], that from earth should arise reptiles and beasts, as well males and females of all sorts of animals; for so the nature of the things produced admitted [of this]. For as many things as He willed, God made from time to time. These things He created through [the] Logos, it not being possible for things to be generated otherwise than as they were produced. But when, according as He willed, He also formed [objects], He called them by names, and thus notified [His creative effort]. After [making] these, He formed the Ruler of all, and fashioned him out of all composite substances.[3] [The Creator] did not wish to make him a god, and failed in His aim; nor an angel (be not deceived), but a man. For if He had willed to make thee a god, He

[1] Dr. Wordsworth suggests for γενέσει, ἐπιγενέσει, *i.e.* a continuous series of procreation.

[2] See Origen, *in Joann.* tom. ii. sec. 8.

[3] Compare Origen, *in Joann.* sec. 2, where we have a similar opinion stated. A certain parallel in this and other portions of Hippolytus' concluding remarks, induces the transcriber, no doubt, to write "Origen's opinion" in the margin.

could have done so. Thou hast the example of the Logos. His will, however, was, that you should be a man, [and] He has made thee a man. But if thou art desirous of also becoming a god, obey Him that has created thee, and resist not now, in order that, being found faithful in that which is small, you may be enabled to have entrusted to you also that which is great.[1]

The Logos alone of this [God] is from [God] Himself; wherefore also [the Logos] is God, being [the] substance of God. Now the world was made from nothing; wherefore [the world] is not God, [as also because] this [world] admits of dissolution whenever the Creator so wishes it. But God, who created [the world], did not, nor does not, make evil. He makes what is glorious and excellent; for He who makes [it] is good. Now man, that was brought into existence, was a creature endued with a capacity of self-determination,[2] yet not possessing a sovereign intellect,[3] nor holding sway over all things by reflection, and authority, and power, but a slave [to his passions], and comprising all [sorts of] contrarieties in himself. But man, from the fact of his possessing a capacity of self-determination, brings forth what is evil, that is, accidentally; which [evil] is not consummated except you actually commit some piece of wickedness. For it is in regard of our desiring anything that is wicked, or our meditating upon it, that what is evil is [so] denominated. Evil had no existence from the beginning, but came into being subsequently.[4] [Now,] since man has free will, a law has been

[1] Matt. xxv. 21, 23; Luke xvi. 10, 11, 12.

[2] *αὐτεξούσιος.* Hippolytus here follows his master Irenæus (*Hær.* iv. 9), and in doing so enunciates an opinion, and uses an expression adopted universally by patristic writers, up to the period of St. Augustine. This great philosopher and divine, however, shook the entire fabric of existing theology respecting the will, and started difficulties, speculative ones at least, which admit of no solution short of the annihilation of finite thought and volition. (See translator's *Treatise on Metaphysics*, chap. x.)

[3] Dr. Wordsworth translates the passage thus: "Endued with free will, but not dominant; having reason, but not able to govern," etc.

[4] See Origen, *in Joann.* tom. ii. sec. 7.

defined [for his guidance] by the Deity, not without answering a good purpose. For if man did not possess the power to will and not to will, why, [I ask,] should a law be established? For a law will not be laid down for an animal devoid of reason, but a bridle and a whip;[1] whereas to man has been given a precept and penalty to perform, or for not carrying into execution what has been enjoined. For man thus constituted has a law been enacted by just men in primitive ages. Nearer our own day was there established a law, full of gravity and justice, by Moses, to whom allusion has been already made, a devout man, and one beloved of God.

Now all these [concerns] the Logos of God controls, the first begotten Child of the Father, [and] the voice of the Dawn [heard] antecedent to the Morning Star.[2] Afterwards just men were born, friends of God; [and] these have been styled prophets,[3] on account of their foreshowing future events. And the word [of prophecy][4] was committed unto them, not for [any] one age [only]; but also the utterances of events predicted throughout all generations, were vouchsafed in perfect clearness. And this, too, not at the time merely when [the seers] furnished a reply to those present;[5] but also events that would happen throughout all ages, have been manifested beforehand [by these prophets. And the reason is,] because, in speaking of incidents gone by, [the prophets] brought them back to the recollection of humanity; whereas, in showing forth present occurrences, they endeavoured to

[1] Ps. xxxii. 9. [2] Ps. cx. 3; 2 Pet. i. 18, 19.

[3] In making the Logos a living principle in the prophets, and as speaking through them to the church of God in all ages, Hippolytus agrees with Origen. This constitutes another reason for the marginal note "Origen's opinion" already mentioned. (See Origen, Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, i. 1.)

[4] Hippolytus expresses similar opinions respecting the œconomy of the prophets, in his work, *De Antichristo*, sec. 2.

[5] Hippolytus here compares the ancient prophets with the oracles of the Gentiles. The heathen seers did not give forth their vaticinations spontaneously, but furnished responses to those only who made inquiries after them (Dr. Wordsworth).

persuade men not to be remiss; while, by foretelling future events, they have rendered each one of us terrified on beholding [in our own day the fulfilment of] events that had been predicted long before, [and] on expecting likewise [the fulfilment of] those events [predicted as] still future. Such is our faith, O all ye men,—[ours, I say,] who are not persuaded by empty expressions, nor caught away by sudden impulses of [the] heart, nor beguiled by the plausibility of eloquent discourses, yet who do not refuse to obey words that have been uttered by divine power. And these injunctions has God given to the Word. But the Word, by declaring them, promulgated the divine commandments, thereby turning man from disobedience, not bringing him into servitude by force of necessity, but summoning him to liberty through a choice involving spontaneity.

This Logos the Father in the latter [days] sent forth, no longer to speak by a prophet, and not wishing that [the Word], being obscurely proclaimed, should be made the subject of mere conjecture, but that He should be manifested, so that we could see Him with our own eyes. This [Logos], I say, the Father sent forth, in order that [the] world, on beholding Him, might reverence Him Who was delivering precepts not by [the] person of prophets, nor terrifying the soul by an angel, but who was Himself—He that had spoken—[corporally] present [amongst us]. This [Logos] we know to have received a body from a virgin, [and] to have remodelled the old man[1] by a new creation. [And we believe the Logos] to have passed through every period in [this] life, in order that He Himself might serve as a law for every age, and that, by being present [amongst] us, He might

[1] πεφυρακότα. This is the reading adopted by Cruice and Wordsworth. The translator has followed Cruice's rendering, *refinxisse*, while Dr. Wordsworth construes the word "fashioned." The latter is more literal, as φυράω means to knead, though the sense imparted to it by Cruice would seem more coincident with the scriptural account (1 Cor. v. 7; 2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi. 15). Bunsen does not alter πεφορηκότα, the reading of the MS., and translates it, "to have put on the old man through a new formation." Sauppe reads πεφυρηκότα. See Hippolytus, *De Antichristo*, sec. 26, *in Danielem* (p. 205, Mai); and Irenæus, v. 6.

exhibit His own manhood as an aim for all men. And [the Father also sent the Word into the world], that by Himself [in person] He might prove that God made nothing evil, and that man possesses the capacity of self-determination, inasmuch as he is able to will and not to will, [and] is endued with power to do both. This [Man] we know to have been made out of the compound [of our humanity]. For if He were not of the same [nature with ourselves], in vain does He ordain that we should imitate the Teacher. For if that Man happened to be of a different substance [from us], why does He lay injunctions similar [to those He has received] on myself, who am born weak; and how is this [the act of one that is] good and just? In order, however, that He might not be supposed to be different [from us], He even underwent toil, and was willing to endure hunger, and did not refuse to feel thirst, and sunk into the quietude of slumber. [For the same reason] He did not protest against His Passion, but became obedient unto death, and manifested His resurrection. Now in all these [acts] He offered up, as the first-fruits, His own manhood, in order that thou, when thou art in tribulation, mayest not be disheartened, but, confessing thyself to be a man [of like nature with the Redeemer], mayest dwell in expectation of also receiving what [the Father] has granted unto this [Son].[1]

Chapter xxx.

The Author's Concluding Address.

Such is the true doctrine in regard of the divine nature, O ye men, Greeks and Barbarians, Chaldæans and Assy-

[1] This is the reading adopted by Cruice and Bunsen. Dr. Wordsworth translates the passage thus: "acknowledging thyself a man of like nature with Christ, and thou also waiting for the appearance of what thou gavest Him." The source of consolation to man which Hippolytus, according to Dr. Wordsworth, is here anxious to indicate, is the glorification of human nature in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ. Dr. Wordsworth therefore objects to Bunsen's rendering, as it gives to the passage a meaning different from this.

rians, Egyptians and Libyans, Indians and Ethiopians, Celts, and ye Latins, who [so often] lead [your] armies [to victory], and all ye that inhabit Europe, and Asia, and Libya. And to you I am become an adviser, inasmuch as I am a disciple of [the] benevolent Logos, and [am myself] humane, in order that you may hasten and by us may be taught who the true God is, and [what] is His well-ordered creation. [And my exhortation to you is,] do not devote your attention to the fallacies of artificial discourses, nor the vain promises of plagiarizing heretics, but to the venerable simplicity of unassuming truth. And by means of this knowledge you shall escape the approaching threat of [the] fire of judgment, and the rayless scenery of gloomy Tartarus,[1] where never shines a beam from the irradiating voice of the Word!

[In this manner you shall never have to breast] the boiling flood of hell's[2] eternal lake of fire, and the eye ever fixed in menacing glare of [wicked] angels chained in Tartarus as punishment for their sins. [And you shall never be gnawed upon by] the worm that ceaselessly coils for food around the body whose scum[3] has bred [the reptile]. Now

[1] Dr. Wordsworth justifies Hippolytus' use of the pagan word "Tartarus," by citing the passage (2 Pet. ii. 4), "For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness (*σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας*), to be reserved unto judgment," etc.

[2] Schneidewin suggests a comparison of this passage with Hippolytus' fragment, *Against Plato, concerning the Cause of the Universe* (p. 220, ed. Fabricii; p. 68, ed. de Lagarde).

[3] The different renderings of this passage, according to different readings, are as follow: "And the worm the scum of the body, turning to the Body that foamed it forth as to that which nourisheth it" (Wordsworth). "The worm which winds itself without rest round the mouldering body, to feed upon it" (Bunsen and Scott). "The worm wriggling as over the filth of the [putrescent] flesh towards the exhaling body" (Roeper). "The worm turning itself towards the substance of the body, towards, [I say,] the exhalations of the decaying frame, as to food" (Schneidewin). The words chiefly altered are: *ἀπουσίαν*, into (1) *ἐπ' οὐσίαν*, (2) *ἐπ' ἀλουσίᾳ*, (3) *ἀπαύστως*; and *ἐπιστρεφόμενον* into (1) *ἐπιστρέφον*, (2) *ἐπὶ τροφήν*.

[torments] such as these shalt thou avoid by being instructed in a knowledge of the true God. And thou shalt possess an immortal body, even one placed beyond the possibility of corruption, just like the soul. And thou shalt [in due time] receive the kingdom of heaven, thou who, whilst thou didst sojourn in [this] life, didst know the Celestial King. And [hereafter] shalt thou be a companion of the Deity, and a co-heir with Christ, no longer enslaved by lusts or passions, and [never again] wasted by disease. For [once the crown of righteousness encircles thy brow], thou hast become God. For whatever sufferings thou didst undergo while being a man, these He gave to thee, because thou wast of mortal mould. But whatever [attributes] it is consistent with [the nature of] God [to impart], these God has promised to bestow upon thee, because thou hast been deified, and begotten unto immortality. This constitutes [the import of the proverb], "Know thyself;" [or, in other words, Learn to] discover God [within thyself, for] He has formed thee [after His own image]. For with the knowledge of self is conjoined the being an object of God's knowledge, for thou art called by [the Deity] Himself. Be not therefore inflamed, O ye men, with enmity one towards another, nor hesitate to retrace[1] with all speed your steps. For Christ is the God [Who is] above all, and He has arranged to wash away sin from human beings,[2] [thereby] rendering regenerate the old man. And God called man His likeness from the beginning, and has evinced in a figure His love towards thee. And provided thou obeyest His solemn injunctions, and becomest a faithful follower of Him Who is good, thou shalt [in the world to come] resemble Him, inasmuch as [then] shalt thou have honour conferred upon thee by Him. For the Deity, [by such signal condescension,] does not diminish aught of

[1] Bunsen translates thus: "Doubt not that you will exist again,"—a rendering which Dr. Wordsworth controverts in favour of the one adopted above.

[2] Bunsen translates thus: "For Christ is He whom the God of all has ordered to wash away the sins," etc. Dr. Wordsworth severely censures this rendering in a lengthened note.

the dignity of His divine[1] perfection; [for He has elevated thee, O man, to His own rank, by] having made thee even God unto His glory![2]

[1] πτωχεύει. Bunsen translates, "for God acts the beggar towards thee," which is literal, though rather unintelligible. Dr. Wordsworth renders the word thus: "God has a longing for thee."

[2] Hippolytus, by his arrangement, recognises the duty not merely of overthrowing error but substantiating truth, or in other words, the negative and positive aspect of theology. His brief statement (chap. xxviii.–xxx.) in the latter department, along with being eminently reflective, constitutes a noble specimen of patristic eloquence.

THE EXTANT WORKS AND FRAGMENTS

OF

HIPPOLYTUS.

PART I.—EXEGETICAL.

FRAGMENTS FROM COMMENTARIES ON VARIOUS BOOKS OF SCRIPTURE.

ON THE HEXAËMERON[1] (OR SIX DAYS' WORK).

[In John Damasc. *Sacr. Parall.*, *Works*, ii. p. 787.]

NOW these things we are under the necessity of setting forth at length, in order to disprove the supposition of others. For some choose to maintain that paradise is in heaven, and forms no part of the system of creation. But since we see with our eyes the rivers that go forth from it, which are open, indeed, even in our day to the inspection of any who choose, let every one conclude from this that it did not belong to heaven, but was in reality planted in the created system. And, in truth, it is a locality in the east, and a place select.

ON GENESIS.

[These fragments are excerpts from a *Commentary on Genesis*, compiled from eighty-eight fathers, which is extant in manuscript in the Vienna Library. They are found also in a *Catena* on Matthew, issued at Leipsic in 1772.]

GEN. I. 5. And it was evening, and it was morning, one day.

HIPPOLYTUS. He did not say [2]*night and day*, but *one day*,

[1] That Hippolytus wrote on the *Hexaëmeron* is noticed by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 22, and by Jerome, Syncellus, Honorius, etc.

[2] *i.e.* νυχθήμερον.

with reference to the name of the light. He did not say the *first day;* for if he had said the *first* day, he would also have had to say that the *second* day was made. But it was right to speak not of the *first day*, but of *one day*, in order that by saying *one*, he might show that it returns on its orbit, and, while it remains one, makes up the week.

GEN. I. 6. And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the water.

HIPP. On the first day God made what He made out of nothing. But on the other days He did not make out of nothing, but out of what He had made on the first day, by moulding it according to His pleasure.

GEN. I. 6, 7. And let it divide between water and water: and it was so. And God made the firmament; and God divided between the water which was under the firmament, and the water above the firmament: and it was so.

HIPP. As the excessive volume of water bore along over the face of the earth, the earth was by reason thereof *invisible* and *formless*. When the Lord of all designed to make the invisible visible, He fixed then a third part of the waters in the midst; and another third part He set by itself on high, raising it together with the firmament by His own power; and the remaining third He left beneath, for the use and benefit of men. ([1]At this point we have an asterisk. The words are found in the Hebrew, but do not occur in the Septuagint.)

GEN. III. 8. And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden at even.

HIPP. Rather they discerned the approach of the Lord by a certain breeze. As soon, therefore, as they had sinned, God appeared to them, producing consciousness of their sin, and calling them to repentance.

GEN. XLIX. 3. Reuben, my first-born, thou art my

[1] This must refer, I suppose, to the words, "*And it was so.*"

strength, and the first of my children; hard to bear with, and hard and self-willed: thou hast waxed wanton as water; boil not over.[1]

AQUILA. Reuben, my first-born, thou art my strength, and the sum of my sorrow: excelling in dignity and excelling in might: thou hast been insensate as water; excel not.[2]

SYMMACHUS. Reuben, my first-born, and beginning of my[3] pain: above measure grasping, and above measure hot as water, thou shalt not more excel.[4]

HIPP. For there was a great display of strength made by God in behalf of His first-born people from Egypt. For in very many ways was the land of the Egyptians chastised. That first people of the circumcision is meant by *my strength, and the first of my children:* even as God gave the promise to Abraham and to his seed. But *hard to bear with*, because the people hardened itself against the obedience of God. And *hard, self-willed*, because it was not only hard against the obedience of God, but also self-willed so as to set upon the Lord. *Thou hast waxed wanton*, because in the instance of our Lord Jesus Christ the people waxed wanton against the Father. But *boil not over*, says the Spirit, by way of comfort, that it might not, by boiling utterly over, be spilt abroad,—giving it hope of salvation. For what has boiled over and been spilt is lost.

GEN. XLIX. 4. For thou wentest up to thy father's bed.

HIPP. First he mentions the event,—that in the last days the people will assault the bed of the Father, that is, the bride, the church, with intent to corrupt her; which thing, indeed, it does even at this present day, assaulting her by blasphemies.

GEN. XLIX. 5. Simeon and Levi, brethren.

HIPP. Since from Simeon sprang the scribes, and from Levi the priests. For the scribes and priests fulfilled iniquity [5]of their own choice, and with one mind they slew the Lord.

[1] μὴ ἐκζέσῃς. [2] μὴ περισσεύῃς.
[3] *My* (μου) is wanting in Origen's *Hexapla.*
[4] οὐκ ἔσῃ περισσότερος. [5] ἐξαιρέσεως αὐτῶν, *of set purpose.*

GEN. XLIX. 5. Simeon and Levi, brethren, fulfilled iniquity of their own choice. Into their counsel let not my soul enter, and in their assembly let not my heart contend; for in their anger they slew men, and in their passion they houghed a bull.

HIPP. This he says regarding the conspiracy into which they were to enter against the Lord. And that he means this conspiracy, is evident to us. For the blessed David sings, *Rulers have taken counsel together against the Lord*,[1] and so forth. And of this conspiracy the Spirit prophesied, saying, *Let not my soul contend*, desiring to draw them off, if possible, so that that future crime might not happen through them. *They slew men, and houghed the bull;* by the *strong bull* he means Christ. And *they houghed*, since, when He was suspended on the tree, they pierced through His sinews. Again, *in their anger they houghed a bull.* And mark the nicety of the expression: for *they slew men, and houghed a bull.* For they *killed* the saints, and they remain *dead*, awaiting the time of the resurrection. But as a bull-calf, so to speak, when houghed, sinks down to the ground, such was Christ in submitting voluntarily to the death of the flesh; but He was not overcome of death. But though as man He became one of the dead, He remained alive in the nature of divinity. For Christ is the bull,—an animal above all strong and pure and devoted to sacred use. And the Son is Lord of all power, who did no sin, but rather offered Himself for us, a savour of a sweet smell to His God and Father. Therefore let those hear who houghed this august bull: *Cursed be their anger, for it was stubborn; and their wrath, for it was hardened.*[2] But this people of the Jews dared to boast of houghing the bull: *Our hands shed this.*[3] For this is nothing different, I think, from the word of folly: *His blood* (be upon us), and so forth.[4] Moses recalls[5] the curse against Levi, or, rather converts it into a blessing, on account of the subsequent

[1] Ps. ii. 2.

[2] Gen. xlix. 7.

[3] After *this* (τοῦτο) the word *blood* (τὸ αἷμα) seems to have been dropped.

[4] Matt. xxvii. 25.

[5] Deut. xxxiii. 8.

zeal of the tribe, and of Phinehas in particular, in behalf of God. But that against Simeon he did not recall. Wherefore it also was fulfilled in deed. For Simeon did not obtain an inheritance like the other tribes, for he dwelt in the midst of Judah. Yet his tribe was preserved, although it was small in number.

GEN. XLIX. 11. Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt to the choice vine (the tendril of the vine); he will wash his garment in wine, and his clothes in the blood of the grape.

HIPP. By the *foal* he means the calling of the Gentiles; by the other, that of the circumcision: *one ass*, moreover, that is to signify that the two colts are of one faith; in other words, the two callings. And one colt is bound to the *vine*, and the other to the *vine tendril*, which means that the church of the Gentiles is bound to the Lord, but he who is of the circumcision to the oldness of the law. *He will wash his garment in wine;* that is, by the Holy Spirit and the word of truth, he will cleanse the flesh, which is meant by the garment. And *in the blood of the grape*, trodden and giving forth blood, which means the flesh of the Lord, he cleanses the whole calling of the Gentiles.

GEN. XLIX. 12–15. His eyes are gladsome with wine, and his teeth white as milk. Zabulun shall dwell by the sea, and he shall be by a haven of ships, and he shall extend to Sidon. Issachar desired the good part, resting in the midst of the lots. And seeing that rest was good, and that the land was fat, he set his shoulder to toil, and became a husbandman.

HIPP. That is, his eyes are brilliant as with the word of truth; for they regard all who believe upon him. And his teeth are white as milk;—that denotes the luminous power of his words: for this reason he calls them white, and compares them to milk, as that which nourishes the flesh and the soul. And Zabulun is, by interpretation, *fragrance* and *blessing*.

(Then after something from Cyril:)

Hipp. Again, I think, it mystically signifies the[1] sacraments of the New Testament of our Saviour; and the words, *his teeth are white as milk*, denote the excellency and purity of the sacramental food. And again, these words, *his teeth are white as milk*, we take in the sense that His words give light to those who believe on Him.

And in saying, moreover, that Zabulun will dwell by the sea, he speaks prophetically of his territory as bordering on the sea, and of Israel as mingling with the Gentiles, the two nations being brought as it were into one flock. And this is manifest in the Gospel. *The land of Zabulun, and the land of Nephthalim*, etc. And you will mark more fully the richness of his lot as having both inland territory and seaboard.

And he is by a haven of ships; that is, as in a safe anchorage, referring to Christ, the anchor of hope. And this denotes the calling of the Gentiles—that the grace of Christ shall go forth to the whole earth and sea. For he says, *And (he is) by a haven of ships, and shall extend as far as Sidon.* And that this is said prophetically of the church of the Gentiles, is made apparent to us in the Gospel: *The land of Zabulun, and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles; the people which sat in darkness saw great light.*[2] In saying, then, that he, namely Zabulun, would inhabit a territory bordering on the sea, he plainly confirmed that, just as if he had said that in the future Israel would mingle with the Gentiles, the two peoples being brought together into one fold and under the hand of one chief Shepherd, the good (Shepherd) by nature, that is, Christ. In blessing him Moses said, *Zabulun shall rejoice.*[3] And Moses prophesies, that in the allocation of the land he should have abundance ministered of the good things both of land and sea, under the hand of One. *By a haven of ships;* that is, as in an anchorage that proves safe, referring to Christ, the anchor of hope. For by His grace he shall come forth out of many a tempest, and shall be brought hereafter to land, like ships secure in harbours. Besides, he said that *he extends as far even as Sidon*, indicating, as it seems,

[1] τὰ μυστήρια. [2] Matt. iv. 15, 16. [3] Deut. xxxiii. 18.

that so complete a unity will be effected in the Spirit's course between the two peoples, that those of the blood of Israel shall occupy those very cities which once were exceeding guilty in the sight of God.

(After something from Cyril:)

And *that the land was fat;* that is, the flesh of our Lord: *fat*, that is, *rich;* for it flows with honey and milk. The parts of the land are marked off for an inheritance and possession to him—that means the doctrine of the Lord. For this is a pleasant rest, as He says Himself: *Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden*,[1] etc. For they who keep the commandments, and do not disclaim the ordinances of the law, enjoy rest both in them and in the doctrine of our Lord; and that is the meaning of *in the midst of the lots.* As the Lord says, *I am not come to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them.*[2] For even our Lord, in the fact that He keeps the commandments, does not destroy the law and the prophets, but fulfils them, as He says in the Gospels. *He set his shoulder to toil, and became a husbandman.* This the apostles did. Having received power from God, and having set themselves to labour, they became husbandmen of the Lord, cultivating the earth—that is, the human race—with the preaching of our Lord.

GEN. XLIX. 16–20. Dan shall judge his people, as himself also one tribe in Israel. And let Dan become a serpent by the way, lying on the path, stinging the horse's heel; and the horseman shall fall backward, waiting for the salvation of the Lord. Gad—a robber's troop shall rob him; and he shall spoil it[3] at the heels. Aser—his bread shall be fat, and he shall furnish dainties to princes.

(After something from Cyril, Apollinaris, and Diodorus:)

HIPP. The Lord is represented to us as a horseman; and the *heel* points us to the *last times.* And His *falling* denotes His death; as it is written in the Gospel: *Behold, this (child) is set for the fall and rising again of many.*[4] We take the

[1] Matt. xi. 28.
[2] Matt. v. 17.
[3] κατὰ πόδας, *quickly, following close.*
[4] Luke ii. 34.

robber to be the traitor. Nor was there any other traitor to the Lord save the (Jewish) people. *Shall rob him, i.e.* shall plot against him. At the heels: that refers to the help of the Lord against those who lie in wait against Him. And again, the words *at the heels* denote that the Lord will take vengeance swiftly. He shall be well armed in the foot (heel), and shall overtake and rob the robber's troop.

AQUILA. *Girded, he shall gird himself;* that means that as a man of arms and war he shall arm himself. *And he shall be armed in the heel:* he means this rather, that Gad shall follow behind his brethren in arms. For though his lot was beyond Jordan, yet they (the men of that tribe) were enjoined to follow their brethren in arms until they too got their lots. Or perhaps he meant this, that Gad's tribesmen were to live in the manner of robbers, and that he was to take up a confederacy of freebooters, which is just a *robber's troop*, and to follow them, practising piracy, which is robbery, along with them.

Whereas, on the abolition of the shadow in the law, and the introduction of the worship in spirit and truth, the world had need of greater light, at last, with this object, the inspired disciples were called, and put in possession of the lot of the teachers of the law. For thus did God speak with regard to the mother of the Jews—that is to say, Jerusalem—by the voice of the Psalmist: *Instead of thy fathers were thy sons;*[1] that is, to those called thy sons was given the position of fathers. And with regard to our Lord Jesus Christ in particular: *Thou wilt appoint them rulers over all the earth.* Yet presently their authority will not be by any means void of trouble to them. Nay rather, they were to experience unnumbered ills, and they were to be in perplexity; and the course of their apostleship they were by no means to find free of peril, as he intimated indeed by way of an example, when he said, *Let (Dan) be*, meaning by that, that there shall be a multitude of persecutors in Dan like a *serpent lying by the way on the path, stinging the horse's heel, i.e.* giving fierce and dangerous bites; for the bites of snakes

[1] Ps. xliv. 17 (English, xlv. 16).

are generally very dangerous. And they were *in the heel* in particular: for *he shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.*[1] And some did persecute the holy apostles in this way even to the death of the flesh. And thus we may say that their position was something like that when a horse stumbles and flings out his heels. For in such a case the horseman will be thrown, and, falling to the ground, I suppose, he waits[2] thus for some one alive. And thus, too, the inspired apostles survive and wait for the time of their redemption, when they shall be called into a kingdom which cannot be moved, when Christ addresses them with the word, *Come, ye blessed of my Father,*[3] etc.

And again, if any one will take the words as meaning, not that there will be some lying in wait against Dan like serpents, but that this Dan himself lies in wait against others, we may say that those meant thereby are the scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites who, while in possession of the power of judgment and instruction among the people, fastened like snakes upon Christ, and strove impiously to compass His fall, vexing Him with their stings as He held on in His lofty and gentle course. But if that horseman did indeed fall, He fell at least of His own will, voluntarily enduring the death of the flesh. And, moreover, it was destined that He should come to life again, having the Father as His helper and conductor. For the Son, being the power of God the Father, endued the temple of His own body again with life. Thus is He said to have been saved by the Father, as He stood in peril as a man, though by nature He is God, and Himself maintains the whole creation, visible and invisible, in a state of wellbeing. In this sense, also, the inspired Paul says of Him: *Though He was crucified in weakness, yet He liveth by the power of God.*[4]

Aser obtained the parts about Ptolemais and Sidon. Wherefore he says, *His bread shall be fat, and he shall furnish dainties to princes.* This we take to be a figure of our calling; for *fat* means *rich.* And whose bread is rich, if not

[1] Gen. iii. 15.
[2] περιμένει τὸν ζῶντα.
[3] Matt. xxv. 34.
[4] 2 Cor. xiii. 4.

ours? For the Lord is our bread, as He says Himself: *I am the bread of life.*[1] And who else will furnish dainties to princes but our Lord Jesus Christ?—not only to the believing among the Gentiles, but also to those of the circumcision, who are first in the faith, to wit, to the fathers, and the patriarchs, and the prophets, and to all who believe in His name and passion.

GEN. XLIX. 21–26. Nephthalim is a slender[2] trunk, showing beauty in the shoot. Joseph is a goodly son; my goodly, envied son; my youngest son. Turn back to me. Against him the archers took counsel together, and reviled him, and pressed him sore. And their bows were broken with might, and the sinews of the arms of their hands were relaxed by the hand of the Mighty One of Jacob. Thence is he who strengthened Israel from the God of thy father. And my God helped thee, and blessed thee with the blessing of heaven above, and with the blessing of the earth which possesseth all things, with the blessing of the breasts and womb, with the blessing of thy father and thy mother. It prevailed above the blessings of abiding mountains, and above the blessings of everlasting hills; which (blessings) shall be upon the head of Joseph, and upon the temples of his brothers, whose chief he was.

HIPP. Who is the son goodly and envied, even to this day, but our Lord Jesus Christ? An object of envy is He indeed to those who choose to hate Him, yet He is not by any means to be overcome. For though He endured the cross, yet as God He returned to life, having trampled upon death, as His God and Father addresses Him, and says, *Sit Thou at my right hand.*[3] And that even those are brought to nought who strive with the utmost possible madness against Him, he has taught us, when he says, *Against Him the archers took counsel together, and reviled Him.* For the *archers*—that is, the leaders of the people—did convene their assemblies, and take bitter counsel. *But their bows were broken, and the sinews of their arms were relaxed, by the hand of the Mighty One of Jacob*, that

[1] John vi. 35. [2] στέλεχος ἀνειμένον. [3] Ps. cx. 1.

is to say, by God the Father, who is the Lord of power, who also made His Son blessed in heaven and on earth. And he (Naphtali) is adopted as a figure of things pertaining to us, as the Gospel shows: *The land of Zabulun, and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan,*[1] etc.; and, *To them that sat in darkness light has arisen.*[2] And what other light was this but the calling of the Gentiles, which is the trunk, *i.e.* the tree of the Lord, in whom engrafted it bears fruit? And the word, *giving increase of beauty in the case of the shoot,* expresses the excellency of our calling. And if the words, *giving increase of beauty in the case of the shoot,* are understood, as perhaps they may, with reference to us, the clause is still quite intelligible. For, by progressing in virtue, and attaining to better things, *reaching forth to those things which are before,*[3] according to the word of the blessed Paul, we rise ever to the higher beauty. I mean, however, of course, spiritual beauty, so that to us too it may be said hereafter, *The King greatly desired thy beauty.*[4]

(After something from Apollinaris:)

Hipp. The word of prophecy passes again to Immanuel Himself. For, in my opinion, what is intended by it is just what has been already stated in the words, *giving increase of beauty in the case of the shoot.* For he means that He increased and grew up into that which He had been from the beginning, and indicates the return to the glory which He had by nature.[5] This, if we apprehend it correctly, is (we should say) just *restored* to Him. For[6] as the only begotten Word of God, being God of God,[7] emptied Himself, according to the Scriptures, humbling Himself of His own will to that which He was not before, and took unto Himself this vile

[1] Matt. iv. 15. [2] Matt. iv. 17.
[3] Phil. iii. 15. [4] Ps. xlv. 11.
[5] The text is τοῦτο πάντως κατάγεται ὀρθῶς ἔχειν ὑπειλημμένον.
[6] This passage, down to the word "inseparably," was transcribed by Isaac Vossius at Rome, and first edited by Grabe in the *Annotations to Bull's Defens. fid. Nic.* p. 103.
[7] *God of God,* Θεὸς ὑπάρχων ἐκ Θεοῦ. Hippolytus uses here the exact phrase of the Nicene Council. So, too, in his *Contra Noetum,* chap. x., he has the exact phrase, *light of light* (φῶς ἐκ φωτός).

flesh, and appeared[1] in the *form of a servant*, and *became obedient to God the Father, even unto death*, so hereafter He is said to be *highly exalted;* and as if well-nigh He had it not by reason of His humanity, and as if it were in the way of grace, He *receives the name which is above every name*,[2] according to the word of the blessed Paul. But the matter, in truth, was not a *giving*, as for the first time, of what He had not by nature; far otherwise. But rather we must understand a return and restoration to that which existed in Him at the beginning, essentially and inseparably. And it is for this reason that, when He had assumed, by divine arrangement,[3] the lowly estate of humanity, He said, *Father, glorify me with the glory which I had*,[4] etc. For He who was co-existent with His Father before all time, and before the foundation of the world, always had the glory proper to Godhead. *He* too may very well be understood as the *youngest* (*son*). For He appeared in the last times, after the glorious and honourable company of the holy prophets, and simply once, after all those who, previous to the time of His sojourn, were reckoned in the number of sons by reason of excellence. That Immanuel, however, was an *object of envy* (ζηλωτός), is a somewhat doubtful phrase. Yet He is an *object of envy* or *emulation* to the saints, who aspire to follow His footsteps, and conform themselves to His divine beauty, and make Him the pattern of their conduct, and win thereby their highest glory. And again, He is an *object of envy* in another sense, —an *object of ill-will*, namely, to those who are declared not to love Him. I refer to the leading parties among the Jews, —the scribes, in sooth, and the Pharisees,—who travailed with bitter envy against Him, and made the glory of which He could not be spoiled the ground of their slander, and assailed Him in many ways. For Christ indeed raised the dead to life again, when they already stank and were corrupt; and He displayed other signs of divinity. And these should have filled them with wonder, and have made them ready to

[1] The words from "and appeared" down to "so hereafter" are given by Grabe, but omitted in Fabricius.

[2] Phil. ii. 7–9. [3] οἰκονομικῶς. [4] John xvii. 5

believe, and to doubt no longer. Yet this was not the case with them; but they were consumed with ill-will, and nursed its bitter pangs in their mind.

(After something from Cyril:)

HIPP. Who else is this than as is shown us by the apostle, *the second man, the Lord from heaven?*[1] And in the Gospel,[2] He said that he who did the will of the Father was *the last.*[3] And by the words, *Turn back to me*, is meant His ascension to His Father in heaven after His passion. And in the phrase, *Against Him they took counsel together, and reviled Him*, who are intended but just the people in their opposition to our Lord? And as to the words, *they pressed Him sore*, who pressed Him, and to this day still press Him sore? Those—these *archers*, namely—who think to contend against the Lord. But though they prevailed to put Him to death, yet *their bows were broken with might.* This plainly means, that *after the resurrection* their bows were broken with might. And those intended are the leaders of the people, who set themselves in array against Him, and, as it were, sharpened the points of their weapons. But they failed to transfix Him, though they did what was unlawful, and dared to assail Him even in the manner of wild beasts.

Thou didst prevail above the blessings of abiding mountains. By *eternal and abiding mountains and everlasting hills*, he means the saints, because they are lifted above the earth, and make no account of the things that perish, but seek the things that are above, and aspire earnestly to rise to the highest virtues. After the glory of Christ, therefore, are those of

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 47. [2] Matt. xxi. 31.

[3] ὁ ἔσχατος. Several manuscripts and versions and fathers read ἔσχατος with Hippolytus instead of πρῶτος. Jerome *in loc.* remarks on the fact, and observes that with that reading the interpretation would be quite intelligible; the sense then being, that "*the Jews understand the truth indeed, but evade it, and refuse to acknowledge what they perceive.*" Wetstein, in his *New Test.* i. p. 467, also cites this reading, and adds the conjecture, that "some, remembering what is said in Matt. xx. 16, viz. *the last shall be first*, thought that the *publicans* would be called more properly *the last*, and that then some one carried out this emendation so far as to transpose the replies too."

the fathers who were most illustrious, and reached the greatest elevation in virtue. These, however, were but servants; but the Lord, the Son, supplied them with the means by which they became illustrious. Wherefore also they acknowledge (the truth of this word), *Out of His fulness have all we received.*[1]

And my God helped thee. This indicates clearly that the aid and support of the Son came from no one else but our God and Father in heaven. And by the word *my God*, is meant that the Spirit speaks by Jacob.[2]

EUSEB. *The sinews of the arms.* He could not say, of *the hands* or *shoulders;* but since the broad central parts of the bow are termed *arms*, he says appropriately *arms.*

HIPP. *Blessings of the breasts and womb.* By this is meant that the true blessing from heaven is the Spirit descending through the Word upon flesh. And by *breasts and womb* he means the blessings of the Virgin. And by that of *thy father and thy mother,*[3] he means also the blessing of the Father which we have received in the church through our Lord Jesus Christ.

GEN. XLIX. 27. *Benjamin is a ravening wolf; in the morning he shall devour still, and till evening he apportions food.*

HIPP. This thoroughly suits Paul, who was of the tribe of Benjamin. For when he was young, he was a ravening wolf; but when he believed, he *apportioned* food. This also is shown us by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the

[1] John i. 16. [2] Gen. xlviii. 3, 4.

[3] Grabe adduces another fragment of the comments of Hippolytus on this passage, found in some leaves deciphered at Rome. It is to this effect: Plainly and evidently the generation of the Only-begotten, which is at once from God the Father, and through the holy Virgin, is signified, even as He is believed and manifested to be a man. For being by nature and in truth the Son of God the Father, on our account He submitted to birth by woman and the womb, and sucked the breast. For He did not, as some fancy, become man only in appearance, but He manifested Himself as in reality that which we are who follow the laws of nature, and supported Himself by food, though Himself giving life to the world.

tribe of Benjamin is among the first persecutors, which is the sense of *in the morning*. For Saul, who was of the tribe of Benjamin, persecuted David, who was appointed to be a type of the Lord.

II.

[From the Second Book of the *Res Sacræ* of Leontius and Joannes, in Mai, *Script. vet.* vii. p. 84.]

From the Commentary of the holy Hippolytus of Rome upon Genesis.

GEN. II. 7. *And God formed man of the dust of the ground.* And what does this import? Are we to say, according to the opinion of some, that there were three men made, one spiritual, one animal, and one earthy? Not such is the case, but the whole narrative is of one man. For the word, *Let us make*, is about the man that was to be; and then comes the word, *God made man of the dust of the ground*, so that the narrative is of one and the same man. For then He says, *Let him be made*, and now He *makes him*, and the narrative tells *how* He makes him.

III.

[In Jerome, epist. 36, *ad Damasum*, Num. xviii. (from Galland.)]

[1]Isaac conveys a figure of God the Father; Rebecca of the Holy Spirit; Esau of the first people and the devil; Jacob of the church, or of Christ. That Isaac was *old*, points to the end of the world; that his eyes were dim, denotes that faith had perished from the world, and that the light of religion was neglected before him; that the elder son is called, expresses the Jews' possession of the law; that the father loves his meat and venison, denotes the saving of men from error, whom every righteous man seeks to gain (lit. *hunt for*) by

[1] Jerome introduces this citation from the Commentary of Hippolytus on Genesis in these terms: "Since, then, we promised to add what that (concerning Isaac and Rebecca, Gen. xxvii.) signifies figuratively, we may adduce the words of the martyr Hippolytus, with whom our Victorinus very much agrees: not that he has made out everything quite fully, but that he may give the reader the means for a broader understanding of the passage."

doctrine. The word of God here is the promise anew of the blessing and the hope of a kingdom to come, in which the saints shall reign with Christ, and keep the true Sabbath. Rebecca is full of the Holy Spirit, as understanding the word which she heard before she gave birth, *For the elder shall serve the younger.*[1] As a figure of the Holy Spirit, moreover, she cares for Jacob in preference. She says to her younger son, *Go to the flock and fetch me two kids,*[2] prefiguring the Saviour's advent in the flesh to work a mighty deliverance for them who were held liable to the punishment of sin; for indeed in all the Scriptures kids are taken for emblems of sinners. His being charged to bring *two,* denotes the reception of two peoples: by the *tender and good,* are meant teachable and innocent souls. The robe or raiment of Esau denotes the faith and Scriptures of the Hebrews, with which the people of the Gentiles were endowed. The skins which were put upon his arms are the sins of both peoples, which Christ, when His hands were stretched forth on the cross, fastened to it along with Himself. In that Isaac asks of Jacob why he came so soon,[3] we take him as admiring the quick faith of them that believe. That savoury meats are offered, denotes an offering pleasing to God, the salvation of sinners. After the eating follows the blessing, and he delights in his smell. He announces with clear voice the perfection of the resurrection and the kingdom, and also how his brethren who believe in Israel adore him and serve him. Because iniquity is opposed to righteousness, Esau is excited to strife, and meditates death deceitfully, saying in his heart, *Let the days of the mourning for my father come on, and I will slay my brother Jacob.*[4] The devil, who previously exhibited the fratricidal Jews by anticipation in Cain, makes the most manifest disclosure of them now in Esau, showing also the time of the murder: *Let the days,* says he, *of the mourning for my father come on, that I may slay my brother.* Wherefore Rebecca—that is, patience—told her husband of the brother's plot: who, summoning Jacob, bade him go to Mesopotamia and thence take a wife of the family of Laban

[1] Gen. xxv. 23. [2] Gen. xxvii. 9. [3] Gen. xxvii. 20. [4] Gen. xxvii. 41.

the Syrian, his mother's brother. As therefore Jacob, to escape his brother's evil designs, proceeds to Mesopotamia, so Christ, too, constrained by the unbelief of the Jews, goes into Galilee, to take from thence to Himself a bride from the Gentiles, His church.

ON NUMBERS.

[In Leontius Byzant., book i. *Against Nestorius and Eutyches* (from Galland.) The same fragment is found in Mai, *Script. vet.* vii. p. 134.]

By the holy bishop and martyr Hippolytus, from *Balaam's Blessings.*

Now, in order that He might be shown to have together in Himself at once the nature of God and that of man,—as the apostle, too, says: *Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.*[1] *Now a mediator is not of one man,*[2] *but two,*[3] —it was therefore necessary that Christ, in becoming the Mediator between God and men, should receive from both an earnest of some kind, that He might appear as the Mediator between two distinct persons.

ON KINGS.

[A fragment from the tractate of Hippolytus, *On the Sorceress* (*ventriloquist*), or *On Saul and the Witch*, 1 Sam. xxviii. From the Vatican MS. cccxxx. in Allat. *De Engastr.*, edited by Simon, in the *Acts of the Martyrs of Ostia*, p. 160, Rome 1795.]

The question is raised, whether Samuel rose by the hand of the sorceress or not. And if, indeed, we were to allow that he did rise, we should be propounding what is false. For how could a demon call back the soul, I say not of a righteous man merely, but of any one whatever, when it had gone, and was tarrying one knew not where? But, he says, how then was the woman dismayed, and how did she see in an extraordinary way men ascending? For if her vision had not been

[1] 1 Tim. ii. 5.

[2] This word *man* agrees ill, not only with the text in Galatians, but even with the meaning of the writer here; for he is treating, not of a mediator between *two* men, but between *God and men.*—MIGNE.

[3] Gal. iii. 20.

of an extraordinary kind, she would not have said, *I see gods ascending out of the earth.* She invoked one, and how did there ascend many? What then? Shall we say that the souls of all who appeared ascended, and those, too, not invoked by the woman; or that what was seen was merely phantasms of them? Even this, however, will not suffice. How, he urges further, did Saul recognise (what appeared), and do obeisance? Well, Saul did not actually see, but only, on being told by the woman that the figure of one of those who ascended was the figure he desired, and taking it to be Samuel, he consulted it as such, and did it obeisance. And it could be no difficult matter for the demon to conjure up the form of Samuel, as it was known to him. How then, says he, did he foretell the calamities that were to befall Saul and Jonathan at the same time? He did foretell indeed the end of the war, and how Saul would be overcome, drawing that as an inference from the wrath of God against him. Just as a physician, who has no exact knowledge of the science, might yet, seeing a patient past cure, tell of his death, though he made an error as to the hour, so, too, the demon, knowing the wrath of God by Saul's deeds, and by this very attempt to consult the sorceress, foretells his defeat and his death at the same time, though in error as to the day of his death.

ON THE PSALMS.

[From Gallandi.]

The argument prefixed by Hippolytus, bishop of Rome, to his *Exposition of the Psalms.*

The book of Psalms contains new doctrine after the law of Moses. And after the writing of Moses, it is the second book of doctrine. Now, after the death of Moses and Joshua, and after the judges, arose David, who was deemed worthy of bearing the name of father of the Saviour himself; and he first gave to the Hebrews a new style of psalmody, by which he abrogates the ordinances established by Moses with respect to sacrifices, and introduces the new hymn and a new style

of jubilant praise in the worship of God; and throughout his whole ministry he teaches very many other things that went beyond the law of Moses.

ON PSALM II.

(*i.e.* in our version the third.)

[Theodoret, Dialogue Second, entitled Ἀσύγχυτος, p. 167.]

From the exposition of the second Psalm, by the holy bishop Hippolytus.

When He came into the world, He was manifested as God and man. And it is easy to perceive the man in Him, when He hungers and shows exhaustion, and is weary and athirst, and withdraws in fear, and is in prayer and in grief, and sleeps on a boat's pillow, and entreats the removal of the cup of suffering, and sweats in an agony, and is strengthened by an angel, and betrayed by a Judas, and mocked by Caiaphas, and set at nought by Herod, and scourged by Pilate, and derided by the soldiers, and nailed to the tree by the Jews, and with a cry commits His spirit to His Father, and drops His head and gives up the ghost, and has His side pierced with a spear, and is wrapped in linen and laid in a tomb, and is raised by the Father on the third day. And the divine in Him, on the other hand, is equally manifest, when He is worshipped by angels, and seen by shepherds, and waited for by Simeon, and testified of by Anna, and inquired after by wise men, and pointed out by a star, and at a marriage makes wine of water, and chides the sea when tossed by the violence of winds, and walks upon the deep, and makes one see who was blind from birth, and raises Lazarus when dead for four days, and works many wonders, and forgives sins, and grants power to His disciples.

ON PSALM XXII. (XXIII.)

[Theodoret, in his First Dialogue.]

From the Commentary by the holy bishop and martyr Hippolytus, on *The Lord is my Shepherd.*

And, moreover, the ark made of imperishable wood was the

Saviour Himself. For by this was signified the imperishable and incorruptible tabernacle of (the Lord) Himself, which gendered no corruption of sin. For the sinner, indeed, makes this confession: *My wounds stank, and were corrupt, because of my foolishness.*[1] But the Lord was without sin, made of imperishable wood, as regards His humanity; that is, of the virgin and the Holy Ghost inwardly, and outwardly of the word of God, like an ark overlaid with purest gold.

ON PSALM XXIII. (XXIV.)

[As above.]

From the Commentary by the same, on Ps. xxiii.

He comes to the heavenly gates: angels accompany Him: and the gates of heaven were closed. For He has not yet ascended into heaven. Now first does He appear to the powers of heaven as flesh ascending. Therefore to these powers it is said by the angels, who are the couriers of the Saviour and Lord: *Lift up your gates, ye princes; and be lifted up, ye everlasting doors: and the King of glory shall come in.*[2]

ON PSALM CIX (CX.)

[Theodoret in his Second Dialogue.]

From the Commentary by the same on the great Song.

He who delivered from the lowest hell the man first made of earth, when lost and bound by the chains of death; He who came down from above, and exalted earth-born man on high; He who is become the preacher of the gospel to the dead, the redeemer of souls, and the resurrection of the buried;—He became the helper of man in his defeat, and appeared in his likeness, the first-born Word, and took upon Himself the first Adam in the Virgin; and though spiritual Himself, He made acquaintance with the earthy in the womb; though Himself the ever-living One, He made acquaintance with the dead in transgressions; Himself the heavenly One, He bore the terrestrial on high; Himself of lofty extraction,

[1] Ps. xxxviii. 6. [2] Ps. xxiv. 7.

He chose, by His own subjection, to set the slave free; and making man, who turns to dust, and forms food for the serpent, unconquerable as adamant, and that, too, when hung upon the tree, He declared him lord over his victor, and is thus Himself proved conqueror by the tree.

[By the same, from the same Commentary.]

Those, indeed, who do not acknowledge the incarnate Son of God now, shall have to acknowledge Him as Judge, when He who is now despised in His inglorious body, comes in His glory.

[From the same.]

And when the apostles came to the sepulchre on the third day, they did not find the body of Jesus; just as the children of Israel went up the mount to seek the tomb of Moses, and did not find it.

ON PSALM LXXVII. (LXXVIII.)

[Bandini, *Catalog. Codd. Græc. Biblioth. Mediceo Laurent.* i. p. 91.]

45. *He sent the dog-fly among them, and consumed them; and the frog, and destroyed them.*

46. *He gave also their fruits to the mildew, and their labours to the locust.*

47. *He destroyed their vine with hail, and their sycamines with frost.*

Now, just as, in consequence of an irregular mode of living, a deadly bilious humour may be formed in the inwards, which the physician by his art may bring on to be a sick-vomiting, without being himself chargeable with producing the sick humour in the man's body; for excess in diet was what produced it, while the physician's science only made it show itself; so, although it may be said that the painful retribution that falls upon those who are by choice wicked comes from God, it would be only in accordance with right reason, to think that ills of that kind find both their beginnings and their causes in ourselves. For to one who lives without sin

there is no darkness, no worm, no hell (Gehenna), no fire, nor any other of these words or things of terror; just as the plagues of Egypt were not for the Hebrews,—those fine lice annoying with invisible bites, the dog-fly fastening on the body with its painful sting, the hurricanes from heaven falling upon them with hailstones, the husbandman's labours devoured by the locusts, the darkened sky, and the rest. It is God's counsel, indeed, to tend the true vine, and to destroy the Egyptian, while sparing those who are to *eat the grape of gall, and drink the deadly venom of asps.*[1] And the sycamine of Egypt is utterly destroyed; not, however, that one which Zaccheus climbed that he might be able to see my Lord. And the fruits of Egypt are wasted, that is, the works of the flesh, but not the fruit of the Spirit, love, joy, and peace.[2]

48. *He gave up their cattle also to the hail, and their substance to the fire.*

Symmachus renders it: *Who gave up their cattle to the plague, and their possessions to birds.* For, having met an overwhelming overthrow, they became a prey for carnivorous birds. But, according to the Seventy, the sense is not that the hail destroyed their cattle, and the fire the rest of their substance, but that hail, falling in an extraordinary manner along with fire, destroyed utterly their vines and sycamines first of all, which were entirely unable to stand out against the first attack; then the cattle which grazed on the plains; and then every herb and tree, which the fire accompanying the hail consumed; and the affair was altogether portentous, as fire ran with the water, and was commingled with it. *For fire ran in the hail,* he says; and it was thus hail, and fire burning in the hail. David also calls the cattle and the fruit of the trees *substance,* or *riches.* And it should be observed that, though the hail is recorded to have destroyed every herb and every tree, yet there were left some which the locust, as it came upon them after the fiery hail, consumed; of which it is said, that it eats up every herb, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail left behind it. Now, in a spiritual

[1] Deut. xxxii. 33. [2] Gal. v. 22.

sense, there are some sheep belonging to Christ, and others belonging to the Egyptians. Those, however, which once belonged to others may become His, as the sheep of Laban became Jacob's; and contrariwise. Whichever of the sheep, moreover, Jacob rejected, he made over to Esau. Beware, then, lest, being found in the flock of Jesus, you be set apart when gifts are sent to Esau, and be given over to Esau as reprobate and unworthy of the spiritual Jacob. The single-minded are the sheep of Christ, and these God saves according to the word: *O Lord, Thou preservest man and beast.*[1] They who in their folly attach themselves to godless doctrine, are the sheep of the Egyptians, and these, too, are destroyed by the hail. And whatsoever the Egyptians possess is given over to the fire, but Abraham's substance is given to Isaac.

49. *He discharged upon them the wrath of His anger;—anger, and wrath, and tribulation, a visitation by evil angels.*

Under anger, wrath, and tribulation, he intended bitter punishments; for God is without passion. And by anger you will understand the lesser penalties, and by wrath the greater, and by tribulation the greatest. [2] The angels also are called evil, not because they are so in their nature, or by their own will, but because they have this office, and are appointed to produce pains and sufferings,—being so called, therefore, with reference to the disposition of those who endure such things; just as the day of judgment is called the evil day, as being laden with miseries and pains for sinners. To the same effect is the word of Isaiah, *I, the Lord, make peace, and create evil;*[3] meaning by that, I maintain peace, and permit war.

[1] Ps. xxxvi. 6.

[2] Theodoret also, following Hippolytus, understood by *evil angels* here, not *demons*, but the ministers of temporal punishment. See on Ps. lxxviii. 54, and on Jer. xlix. 14. So, too, others, as may be seen in Poli, *Synops.* ii. col. 1113.

[3] Isa. xlv. 7.

ON PROVERBS.

[Mai, *Bibliotheca nova Patrum*, vii. ii. 71, Rome 1854.]

From the Commentary of St. Hippolytus on Proverbs.

Proverbs, therefore, are words of exhortation serviceable for the whole path of life; for to those who seek their way to God, these serve as guides and signs to revive them when wearied with the length of the road. These, moreover, are the proverbs of *Solomon*, that is to say, the *peacemaker*, who, in truth, is Christ the Saviour. And since we understand the words of the Lord without offence, as being the words of the Lord, that no one may mislead us by likeness of name, he tells us who wrote these things, and of what people he was king, in order that the credit of the speaker may make the discourse acceptable and the hearers attentive; for they are the words of that Solomon to whom the Lord said: *I will give thee a wise and an understanding heart; so that there has been none like thee upon the earth, and after thee there shall not arise any like unto thee*,[1] and as follows in what is written of him. Now he was the wise son of a wise father; wherefore there is added the name of David, by whom Solomon was begotten. From a child he was instructed in the sacred Scriptures, and obtained his dominion not by lot, nor by force, but by the judgment of the Spirit and the decree of God.

To know wisdom and instruction. He who knows the wisdom of God, receives from Him also instruction, and learns by it the mysteries of the Word; and they who know the true heavenly wisdom will easily understand the words of these mysteries. Wherefore he says: *To understand the difficulties of words;*[2] for things spoken in strange language by the Holy Spirit become intelligible to those who have their hearts right with God.

[3] These things he understands of the people of the Jews, and their guilt in the blood of Christ; for they thought that He had His conversation (citizenship) on earth only.

[4] They will not simply obtain, but inherit. The wicked,

[1] 1 Kings iii. 12. [2] Prov. i. 3. [3] Ch. i. 11. [4] Ch. iii. 35.

again, even though they are exalted, are exalted only so as to have greater dishonour. For as one does not honour an ugly and misshapen fellow, if he exalts him, but only dishonours him the more, by making his shame manifest to a larger number; so also God exalts the wicked, in order that He may make their disgrace patent. For Pharaoh was exalted, but only to have the world as his accuser.

[1] It must be noted, that he names the law a good gift, on account of the man who takes gifts into his bosom unrighteously. And he forsakes the law who transgresses it; the law, namely, of which he speaks, or which he has kept.

[2] And what is meant by *exalt* (*fortify*) *her?* Surround her with holy thoughts; for you have need of large defence, since there are many things to imperil such a possession. But if it is in our power to fortify her, and if there are virtues in our power which exalt the knowledge of God, these will be her bulwarks,—as, for example, practice, study, and the whole chain of other virtues; and the man who observes these, honours wisdom; and the reward is, to be exalted to be with her, and to be embraced by her in the chamber of heaven.

[3] The heterodox are the *wicked*, and the transgressors of the law are *evil men*, whose *ways*—that is to say, their deeds—he bids us not enter.

[4] He *looks right on* who has thoughts free of passion; and he has true judgments, who is not in a state of excitement about external appearances. When he says, *Let thine eyes look right on*, he means the vision of the soul; and when he gives the exhortation, Eat honey, my son, that it may be sweet to thy palate, he uses *honey* figuratively, meaning divine doctrine, which restores the spiritual knowledge of the soul. But wisdom embraces the soul also; for, says he, *love her, that she may embrace thee.* And the soul, by her embrace being made one with wisdom, is filled with holiness and purity. Yea more, the fragrant ointments of Christ are laid hold of by the soul's sense of smell.

[5] Virtue occupies the middle position; whence also he

[1] Ch. iv. 2. [2] Ch. iv. 8. [3] Ch. iv. 14.
[4] Ch. iv. 25. [5] Ch. iv. 27.

says, that manly courage is the mean between boldness and cowardice. And now he mentions the *right*, not meaning thereby things which are right by nature, such as the virtues, but things which seem to thee to be right on account of their pleasures. Now pleasures are not simply sensual enjoyments, but also riches and luxury. And the *left* indicates envy, robberies, and the like. For *Boreas*, says he, *is a bitter wind, and yet is called by name right.*[1] For, symbolically, under Boreas he designates the wicked devil by whom every flame of evil is kindled in the earth. And this has the name *right*, because an angel is called by a right (propitious) name. Do thou, says he, turn aside from evil, and God will take care of thine end; for He will go before thee, scattering thine enemies, that thou mayest go in peace.

[2] He shows also, by the mention of the creature (the hind), the purity of that pleasure; and by the roe he intimates the quick responsive affection of the wife. And whereas he knows many things to excite, he secures them against these, and puts upon them the indissoluble bond of affection, setting constancy before them. And as for the rest, wisdom, figuratively speaking, like a stag, can repel and crush the snaky doctrines of the heterodox. Let her therefore, says he, be with thee, like a roe, to keep all virtue fresh. And whereas a wife and wisdom are not in this respect the same, let her rather lead thee; for thus thou shalt conceive good thoughts.

[3] That thou mayest not say, What harm is there in the eyes, when there is no necessity that he should be perverted who looks? he shows thee that desire is a fire, and the flesh is like a garment. The latter is an easy prey, and the former is a tyrant. And when anything harmful is not only taken within, but also held fast, it will not go forth again until it has made an exit for itself. For he who looks upon a woman, even though he escape the temptation, does not come away pure of all lust. And why should one have trouble, if he can be chaste and free of trouble? See what Job says: *I made a covenant with mine eyes, that I should not think of another's*

[1] This is the Septuagint translation of ch. xxvii. 16.
[2] Ch. v. 19. [3] Ch. vi. 27.

wife.[1] Thus well does he know the power of abuse. And Paul for this reason kept *under his body, and brought it into subjection.* And, figuratively speaking, he keeps a fire in his breast who permits an impure thought to dwell in his heart. And he walks upon coals who, by sinning in act, destroys his own soul.

[2] The *cemphus*[3] is a kind of wild sea-bird, which has so immoderate an impulse to sexual enjoyment, that its eyes seem to fill with blood in coition; and it often blindly falls into snares, or into the hands of men. To this, therefore, he compares the man who gives himself up to the harlot on account of his immoderate lust; or else on account of the insensate folly of the creature, for he, too, pursues his object like one senseless. And they say that this bird is so much pleased with foam, that if one should hold foam in his hand as he sails, it will sit upon his hand. And it also brings forth with pain.

[4] You have seen her mischief. Wait not to admit the rising of lust; for her death is everlasting. And for the rest, by her words, her arguments in sooth, she wounds, and by her sins she kills those who yield to her. For many are the forms of wickedness that lead the foolish down to hell. And the chambers[5] of death mean either its depths or its treasure. How, then, is escape possible?

[6] He intends the new Jerusalem, or the sanctified flesh. By the seven pillars he means the sevenfold unity of the Holy Spirit resting upon it; as Isaiah testifies, saying, *She has slain* her *victims.*

[7] Observe that the wise man must be useful to many; so that he who is useful only to himself cannot be wise. For great is the condemnation of wisdom if she reserves her power simply for the one possessing her. But as poison is not injurious to another body, but only to that one which takes it, so also the man who turns out wicked will injure himself, and

[1] Job xxxi. 1.
[2] Ch. vii. 22.
[3] The Hebrew word, rendered *straightway* in our version, is translated κεπφωθείς in the Septuagint, *i.e. ensnared like a cepphus.*
[4] Ch. vii. 26.
[5] ταμεῖα, *magazines.*
[6] Ch. ix. 1.
[7] Ch. ix. 12.

not another. For no man of real virtue is injured by a wicked man.

[1] The fruit of righteousness and the tree of life is Christ. He alone, as man, fulfilled all righteousness. And with His own underived life[2] He has brought forth the fruits of knowledge and virtue like a tree, whereof they that eat shall receive eternal life, and shall enjoy the tree of life in paradise, with Adam and all the righteous. But the souls of the unrighteous meet an untimely expulsion from the presence of God, by whom they shall be left to remain in the flame of torment.

[3] Not from men, but with the Lord, will he obtain favour.

[4] He asks of wisdom, who seeks to know what is the will of God. And he will show himself prudent who is sparing of his words on that which he has come to learn. If one inquires about wisdom, desiring to learn something about wisdom, while another asks nothing of wisdom, as not only wishing to learn nothing about wisdom himself, but even keeping back his neighbours from so doing, the former certainly is deemed to be more prudent than the latter.

[5] As to the horse-leech. There were three daughters fondly loved by sin—fornication, murder,[6] and idolatry. These three did not satisfy her, for she is not to be satisfied. In destroying man by these actions, sin never varies, but only grows continually. For the fourth, he continues, is never content to say *enough*, meaning that it is universal lust. In naming the *fourth*, he intends lust in the universal. For as the body is one, and yet has many members; so also, sin being one, contains within it many various lusts by which it lays its snares for men. Wherefore, in order to teach us this, he uses the examples of the grave (Hades), and the love of women, and hell (Tartarus), and the earth that is not filled with water. And water and fire, indeed, will never say, *It is enough*. And the grave (Hades) in no wise ceases to receive the souls of unrighteous men; nor does the love of sin, in the instance of the love of women, cease to be given to fornication, and it

[1] Ch. xi. 30. [2] ὡς αὐτοζωή. [3] Ch. xii. 2. [4] Ch. xvii. 27.
[5] Ch. xxx. 15. [6] Other reading (φθόνος) = *envy*.

becomes the betrayer of the soul. And as Tartarus, which is situated in a doleful and dark locality, is not touched by a ray of light, so is every one who is the slave of sin in all the passions of the flesh. Like the earth not filled with water, he is never able to come to confession, and to the laver of regeneration, and like water and fire, never says, *It is enough.*

[1] For as a serpent cannot mark its track upon a rock, so the devil could not find sin in the body of Christ. For the Lord says, *Behold, the prince of this world cometh, and will find nothing in me.*[2]—For as a ship, sailing in the sea, leaves no traces of her way behind her, so neither does the church, which is situate in the world as in a sea, leave her hope upon the earth, because she has her life reserved in heaven; and as she holds her way here only for a short time, it is not possible to trace out her course.—As the church does not leave her hope behind in the world, her hope in the incarnation of Christ which bears us all good, she did not leave the track of death in Hades.—Of whom but of Him who is born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin?—who, in renewing the perfect man in the world, works miracles, beginning from the baptism of John, as the Evangelist also testifies: And Jesus was then beginning to be about thirty years of age. This, then, was the youthful and blooming period of the age of Him who, in journeying among the cities and districts, healed the diseases and infirmities of men.

[3] *The eye that mocketh at his father, and dishonours the old age of his mother.* That is to say, one that blasphemes God and despises the mother of Christ, the wisdom of God,—his eyes may ravens from the caves tear out, *i.e.* him may unclean and wicked spirits deprive of the clear eye of gladness; and may the young eagles devour him: and such shall be trodden under the feet of the saints.

[4] *There be three things which I cannot understand, and the fourth I know not: the tracks of an eagle flying, i.e.* Christ's ascension; *and the ways of a serpent upon a rock, i.e.* that the devil did not find a trace of sin in the body of Christ; *and the ways of a ship crossing the sea, i.e.* the ways of the

[1] Ch. xxx. 19. [2] John xiv. 30. [3] Ch. xxx. 17. [4] Ch. xxx. 18, 19.

church, which is in this life as in a sea, and which is directed by her hope in Christ through the cross; *and the ways of a man in youth*,—the ways of Him, namely, who is born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin. For behold, says the Scripture, a man whose name is the Rising.[1]

[2] *Such is the way of an adulterous woman, who, when she has done the deed of sin, wipeth herself, and will say that no wickedness has been done.* Such is the conduct of the church that believes on Christ, when, after committing fornication with idols, she renounces these and the devil, and is cleansed of her sins, and receives forgiveness, and then asserts that she has done no wickedness.

[3] *By three things the earth is moved*, viz. by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. *And the fourth it cannot bear*, viz. the last appearing of Christ. *When a servant reigneth:* Israel was a slave in Egypt, and in the land of promise became a ruler. *And a fool when he is filled with meat: i.e.* getting the land in possession readily, and eating its fruit, and being filled, it (the people) kicked. *And a handmaid when she casts out her mistress: i.e.* the synagogue which took the life of the Lord, and crucified the flesh of Christ.

[4] *There be four things which are least upon the earth, and these are wiser than the wise: The ants have no strength, yet they prepare their meat in the summer.* And in like manner, the Gentiles by faith in Christ prepare for themselves eternal life through good works. *And the conies,*[5] *a feeble folk, have made their houses in the rocks.* The Gentiles, that is to say, are built upon Christ, the spiritual rock, which is become the head of the corner. *The spider*[6] *that supports itself upon its hands, and is easily caught, dwells in the strongholds of kings.* That is, the thief with his hands extended (on the cross), rests on the cross of Christ and dwells in Paradise, the stronghold of the three Kings—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

[1] The reference probably is to Zech. vi. 12, where the word is rendered *Branch*. The word in the text is ἀνατολή.

[2] Ch. xxx. 20.

[3] Ch. xxx. 21–23.

[4] Ch. xxx. 24–28.

[5] χοιρογρύλλοι, *i.e. grunting hogs.*

[6] ἀσκαλαβώτης, *i.e.* a *lizard.*

The locust has no king, and yet marches out in array as by one command. The Gentiles had no king, for they were ruled by sin; but now, believing God, they engage in the heavenly warfare.

[1] *There be three things which go well, and the fourth which is comely in going;* that is, the angels in heaven, the saints upon earth, and the souls of the righteous under the earth. And the fourth, viz. God, the Word Incarnate, passed in honour through the Virgin's womb; and creating our Adam anew, he passed through the gates of heaven, and became the first-fruits of the resurrection and of the ascension for all.

The whelp of the lion is stronger than the beasts: i.e. Christ as prophesied of by Jacob in the person of Judah. *A cock walking with high spirit among his dames:* such was Paul, when preaching boldly among the churches the word of the Christ of God. *A goat heading the herd:* such is He who was offered for the sins of the world. *And a king speaking among the people:* so Christ reigns over the nations, and speaks by prophets and apostles the word of truth.

[2] That is, one confirmed in wickedness. The apostle, too, says, *Them that sin, rebuke before all;*[3] that is to say, all but reprobate. Who are meant by the *conies,*[4] but we ourselves, who once were like hogs, walking in all the filthiness of the world; but now, believing in Christ, we build our houses upon the holy flesh of Christ as upon a rock?

[5] The shaking (of the earth) signifies the change of things upon earth.—Sin, then, which in its own nature is a slave, has reigned in the mortal body of men: once, indeed, at the time of the flood; and again in the time of the Sodomites, who, not satisfied with what the land yielded, offered violence to strangers; and a third time in the case of hateful Egypt, which, though it obtained in Joseph a man who distributed food to all, that they might not perish of famine, yet did

[1] Ch. xxx. 29, etc.

[2] Cf. xxvii. 22, the Septuagint rendering being: "*Though thou shouldest disgrace and scourge a fool in the midst of the council, thou wilt not strip him of his folly.*"

[3] 1 Tim. v. 20. [4] Literally, *grunting hogs.* [5] Ch. xxx. 21, etc.

not take well with his prosperity, but persecuted the children of Israel. *The handmaid casting out her mistress: i.e.* the church of the Gentiles, which, though itself a slave and a stranger to the promises, cast out the free-born and lordly synagogue, and became the wife and bride of Christ. By Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the whole earth is moved. The *fourth it cannot bear:* for He came first by lawgivers, and secondly by prophets, and thirdly by the gospel, manifesting Himself openly; and in the fourth instance He shall come as the Judge of the living and the dead, whose glory the whole creation will not be able to endure.

ANOTHER FRAGMENT.

[From Gallandi.]

St. Hippolytus, Pope of Rome, on Prov. ix. 1, "*Wisdom hath builded her house.*"

Christ, he means, the wisdom and power of God the Father, hath builded His house, *i.e.* His nature in the flesh derived from the Virgin, even as he (John) hath said beforetime, *The word became flesh, and dwelt among us.*[1] As likewise the wise prophet[2] testifies: Wisdom that was before the world, and is the source of life, the infinite *Wisdom of God, hath builded her house* by a mother who knew no man,—to wit, as He assumed the temple of the body. *And hath raised*[3] *her seven pillars;* that is, the fragrant grace of the all-holy Spirit, as Isaiah says: *And the seven spirits of God shall rest upon Him.*[4] But others say that the seven pillars are the seven divine orders which sustain the creation by His holy and inspired teaching; to wit, the prophets, the apostles, the martyrs, the hierarchs, the hermits, the saints, and the righteous. And the phrase, *She hath killed her beasts,* denotes the prophets and martyrs who in every city and country are slain like sheep every day by the unbelieving, in behalf of the truth, and cry aloud, *For thy sake we are killed all the day long, we were counted as sheep for the slaughter.*[5]

[1] John i. 14. [2] *i.e.* Solomon. [3] Other reading, "hewn out."
[4] Isa. xi. 2. [5] Ps. xliv. 2; Rom. viii. 36.

And again, *She hath mingled her wine* in the bowl, by which is meant, that the Saviour, uniting his Godhead, like pure wine, with the flesh in the Virgin, was born of her at once God and man without confusion of the one in the other. *And she hath furnished her table:* that denotes the promised knowledge of the Holy Trinity; it also refers to His honoured and undefiled body and blood, which day by day are administered and offered sacrificially at the spiritual divine table, as a memorial of that first and ever-memorable table of the spiritual divine supper. And again, *She hath sent forth her servants:* Wisdom, that is to say, has done so—Christ, to wit—summoning them with lofty announcement. *Whoso is simple, let him turn to me,* she says, alluding manifestly to the holy apostles, who traversed the whole world, and called the nations to the knowledge of Him in truth, with their lofty and divine preaching. And again, *And to those that want understanding she said*—that is, to those who have not yet obtained the power of the Holy Ghost—*Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled for you;* by which is meant, that He gave His divine flesh and honoured blood to us, to eat and to drink it for the remission of sins.

ON THE SONG OF SONGS.

[Simon de Magistris, in his *Acta Martyr. Ostiens.* p. 274, adduces the following fragment in Latin and Syriac, from a Vatican codex, and prefaces it with these words: Hippolytus wrote on the Song of Solomon, and showed that thus early did God the Word seek His pleasure in the church gathered from among the Gentiles, and especially in His most holy mother the Virgin; and thus the Syrians, who boasted that the Virgin was born among them, translated the Commentary of Hippolytus at a very early period from the Greek into their own tongue, of which some fragments still remain,—as, for example, one on the words, *Arise, O north wind, and come, thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out,* to this effect:—"As Joseph was delighted with these spices, he is designated the

King's son by God; as the Virgin Mary was anointed with them, she conceived the Word: then new secrets, and new truth, and a new kingdom, and also great and inexplicable mysteries are made manifest."]

[In Gallandi, from *Anastasius Sinaita*, quæst. 41, p. 320.]

Hippolytus on the Song of Songs.

And where is all this rich knowledge? and where are these mysteries? and where are the books? For the only ones extant are Proverbs, and Wisdom, and Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. What then? Does the Scripture speak falsely? God forbid. But the matter of his writings was various, as is shown in the phrase *Song of Songs;* for that indicates that in this one book he digested the contents of the 5000 songs.[1] In the days moreover of Hezekiah, there were some of the books selected for use, and others set aside. Whence the Scripture says, *These are the mixed*[2] *Proverbs of Solomon, which the friends of Hezekiah the king copied out.*[3] And whence did they take them, but out of the books containing the 3000 parables and the 5000 songs? Out of these, then, the wise friends of Hezekiah took those portions which bore upon the edification of the church. And the books of Solomon on the *Parables* and *Songs*, in which he wrote of the physiology of plants, and all kinds of animals belonging to the dry land, and the air, and the sea, and of the cures of disease, Hezekiah did away with, because the people looked to these for the remedies for their diseases, and neglected to seek their healing from God.

ON THE PROPHET ISAIAH.

[In Gallandi, from a codex of the Coislin Library, Num. 193, fol. 36.]

Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome, on Hezekiah.

When Hezekiah, king of Judah, was still sick and weeping, there came an angel, and said to him: *I have seen thy tears, and I have heard thy voice. Behold, I add unto thy*

[1] 1 Kings iv. 32. [2] διάκριτοι, *mixed*, or *dark*. [3] Prov. xxv. 1.

time fifteen years. And this shall be a sign to thee from the Lord: Behold, I turn back the shadow of the degrees of the house of thy father, by which the sun has gone down, the ten degrees by which the shadow has gone down,[1] so that that day be a day of thirty-two hours. For when the sun had run its course to the tenth hour, it returned again. And again, when Joshua the son of Nun was fighting against the Amorites, when the sun was now inclining to its setting, and the battle was being pressed closely, Joshua being anxious lest the heathen host should escape on the descent of night, cried out, saying, *Sun, stand thou still in Gibeon; and thou moon, in the valley of Ajalon,*[2] until I vanquish this people. And the sun stood still, and the moon, in their places, so that that day was one of twenty-four hours. And in the time of Hezekiah the moon also turned back along with the sun, that there might be no collision between the two elemental bodies, by their bearing against each other in defiance of law. And Merodach the Chaldean, king of Babylon, being struck with amazement at that time—for he studied the science of astrology, and measured the courses of these bodies carefully—on learning the cause, sent a letter and gifts to Hezekiah, just as also the wise men from the east did to Christ.

II.

[Theodoret in Dialogue I.]

From the Discourse of St. Hippolytus on the beginning of Isaiah.

Under Egypt he meant the world, and under things made with hands its idolatry, and under the shaking its subversion and dissolution. [3] And the Lord, the Word, he represented as upon a light cloud, referring to that most pure tabernacle, in which setting up His throne, our Lord Jesus Christ came into the world to shake error.

[1] Isa. xxxviii. 5, 7, 8. [2] Josh. x. 12.

[3] The text is evidently corrupt: Κύριον δὲ τὸν Λόγον, νεφέλην δὲ κούφην τὸ καθαρώτατον σκῆνος, etc. The reference must be to ch. xix. 1.

III.

[Hippolytus wrote on Isaiah with the view of making the most of the favourable disposition entertained by the Emperor Alexander Severus towards the Christians, and particularly on that part where the retrogression of the sun is recorded as a sign of an extension of life to Hezekiah.]

We find in the commentaries, written by our predecessors, that that day had thirty-two hours. For when the sun had run its course, and reached the tenth hour, and the shadow had gone down by the ten degrees in the house of the temple, the sun turned back again by the ten degrees, according to the word of the Lord, and there were thus twenty hours. And again, the sun accomplished its own proper course, according to the common law, and reached its setting. And thus there were thirty-two hours.

ON JEREMIAH AND EZEKIEL.

[That Hippolytus wrote on Jeremiah is recorded, so far as I know, by none of the ancients; for the quotation given in the *Catena* of Greek fathers on Jer. xvii. 11 is taken from his book *On Antichrist*, chap. lv. Rufinus mentions that Hippolytus wrote on a certain part of the prophet Ezekiel, viz. on those chapters which contain the description of the temple of Jerusalem; and of that commentary the following fragments are preserved.—*De Magistris.*]

What were the dimensions, then, of the temple of Solomon? Its length was sixty cubits, and its breadth twenty. And it was not turned to the east, that the worshippers might not worship the rising sun, but the Lord of the sun. And let no one marvel if, when the Scripture gives the length at forty cubits, I have said sixty. For a little after it mentions the other twenty, in describing the holy of holies, which it also names Dabir. Thus the holy place was forty cubits, and the holy of holies other twenty. And Josephus says that the temple had two storeys,[1] and that the whole height was one hundred and twenty cubits. For so also the book of Chronicles indicates, saying, *And Solomon began to build the house of God. In length its first measure was sixty cubits, and its breadth twenty cubits, and its height one hundred and twenty; and he overlaid it within with pure gold.*[2]

[1] διόροφον. [2] 2 Chron. iii. 1, 3, 4.

ON DANIEL.

[Simon de Magistris, *Daniel secundum Septuaginta*, from the *Codex Chisianus*, Rome 1772; and Mai, *Script. vet. collectio nova*, i. iii. ed. 1831, pp. 29–56.]

Preface by the most holy Hippolytus, bishop of Rome.

As I wish to give an accurate account of the times of the captivity of the children of Israel in Babylon, and to discuss the prophecies contained in the visions of the blessed Daniel, (as well as) his manner of life from his boyhood in Babylon, I too shall proceed to bear my testimony to that holy and righteous man, a prophet and witness of Christ, who not only declared the visions of Nebuchadnezzar the king in those times, but also trained youths of like mind with himself, and raised up faithful witnesses in the world. He is born, then, in the time of the prophetic ministry of the blessed Jeremiah, and in the reign of Jehoiakim or Eliakim. Along with the other captives, he is carried off a prisoner to Babylon. Now there are born to the blessed Josiah these five sons—Jehoahaz, Eliakim, Johanan, Zedekiah, or Jeconiah, and Sadum.[1] And on his father's death, Jehoahaz is anointed as king by the people at the age of twenty-three years. Against him comes up Pharaoh-Necho, in the third month of his reign; and he takes him (Jehoahaz) prisoner, and carries him into Egypt, and imposes tribute on the land to the extent of one hundred talents of silver and ten talents of gold. And in his stead he sets up his brother Eliakim as king over the land, whose name also he changed to Jehoiakim, and who was then eleven years old. Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon,[2] and carries him off prisoner to Babylon, taking with him also some of the vessels of the house in Jerusalem. Thrown into prison as a friend of Pharaoh, and as one set up by him over the kingdom,[3] he is released at length in the thirty-seventh year by Evil-Merodach king of Babylon; and he cut his hair short, and was

[1] Shallum. See 1 Chron. iii. 15.

[2] 2 Kings xxiv. 10.

[3] 2 Kings xxv. 27. Note the confusion between Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin in what follows.

counsellor to him, and ate at his table until the day that he died. On his removal, his son Jehoiakim[1] reigns three years.[2] And against him came up Nebuchadnezzar, and transports him and ten thousand of the men of his people to Babylon, and sets up in his stead his father's brother, whose name he changed also to Zedekiah; and after making agreement with him by oath and treaty, he returns to Babylon. This (Zedekiah), after a reign of eleven years, revolted from him and went over to Pharaoh king of Egypt. And in the tenth year Nebuchadnezzar came against him from the land of the Chaldæans, and surrounded the city with a stockade, and environed it all round, and completely shut it up. In this way the larger number of them perished by famine, and others perished by the sword, and some were taken prisoners, and the city was burned with fire, and the temple and the wall were destroyed. And the army of the Chaldæans seized all the treasure that was found in the house of the Lord, and all the vessels of gold and silver; and all the brass, Nebuzaradan, chief of the slaughterers,[3] stripped off, and carried it to Babylon. And the army of the Chaldæans pursued Zedekiah himself as he fled by night along with seven hundred men, and surprised him in Jericho, and brought him to the king of Babylon at Reblatha. And the king pronounced judgment upon him in wrath, because he had violated the oath of the Lord, and the agreement he had made with him; and he slew his sons before his face, and put out Zedekiah's eyes. And he cast him into chains of iron, and carried him to Babylon; and there he remained grinding at the mill until the day of his death. And when he died, they took his body and cast it behind the wall of Nineveh. In his case is fulfilled the prophecy of Jeremiah, saying, (*As*) *I live, saith the Lord, though Jeconiah son of Jehoiakim king of Judah should become the signet upon my right hand, yet will I pluck thee thence; and I will give thee into the hands of them that seek thy life, of them whose face thou fearest, even into the hands of the Chaldæans. And I will cast thee out, and*

[1] *i.e.* Jehoiachin.

[2] Others τριμήνιον = three months.

[3] ἀρχιμάγειρος, *chief cook.*

thy mother that bare thee, into a country where thou wast not born; and there ye shall die. But to the land which they desire in their souls, I will not send thee back. Dishonoured is Jeconias, like an unserviceable vessel, of which there is no use, since he is cast out and expelled into a land which he knew not. O earth, hear the word of the Lord. Write this man, a man excommunicate; for no man of his seed shall prosper (grow up), sitting upon the throne of David, ruling any more in Judah.[1] Thus the captivity in Babylon befell them after the exodus from Egypt. When the whole people, then, was transported, and the city made desolate, and the sanctuary destroyed, that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled which He spake by the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah, saying, *The sanctuary shall be desolate seventy years;*[2] then we find that the blessed Daniel prophesied in Babylon, and appeared as the vindicator of Susanna.

The interpretation by Hippolytus, bishop of Rome, of the visions of Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar, taken in conjunction.[3]

1. In speaking of a *lioness from the sea*,[4] he meant the rising of the kingdom of Babylon, and that this was the *golden head of the image*. And in speaking of its *eagle wings*, he meant that king Nebuchadnezzar was exalted, and that his glory was lifted up against God. Then he says *its wings were plucked off, i.e.* that his glory was destroyed; for he was driven out of his kingdom. And the words, *A man's heart was given it, and it was made stand upon the feet of a man*, mean that he came to himself again, and recognised that he was but a man, and gave the glory to God. Then after the lioness he sees a second beast, *like a bear*, which signified the Persians. For after the Babylonians the Persians obtained the power. And in saying that *it had three ribs in its mouth*, he

[1] Jer. xxii. 24, etc. [2] Jer. xxv. 11.

[3] The same method of explaining the two visions is also adopted by Jacobus Nisibenus, serm. v., and by his illustrious disciple Ephraem Syrus on Dan. vii. 4.

[4] Dan. vii.

pointed to the three nations, Persians, Medes, and Babylonians, which were expressed in the image by the silver after the gold. Then comes the third beast, *a leopard*, which means the Greeks; for after the Persians, Alexander of Macedon had the power, when Darius was overthrown, which was also indicated by the brass in the image. And in saying that the beast *had four wings of a fowl, and four heads*, he showed most clearly how the kingdom of Alexander was parted into four divisions. For in speaking of four heads, he meant the four kings that arose out of it. For Alexander, when dying, divided his kingdom into four parts. Then he says, *The fourth beast* (*was*) *dreadful and terrible: it had iron teeth, and claws of brass.* Who, then, are meant by this but the Romans, whose kingdom, the kingdom that still stands, is expressed by the iron? *for*, says he, *its legs are of iron.*

2. After this, then, what remains, beloved, but the toes of the feet of the image, in which *part shall be of iron and part of clay mixed together?* By the toes of the feet he meant, mystically, the ten kings that rise out of that kingdom. As Daniel says, *I considered the beast; and, lo,* (*there were*) *ten horns behind, among which shall come up another little horn springing from them;* by which none other is meant than the antichrist that is to rise; and he shall set up the kingdom of Judah. And in saying that *three horns* were *plucked up by the roots* by this one, he indicates the three kings of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia, whom this one will slay in the array of war. And when he has conquered all, he will prove himself a terrible and savage tyrant, and will cause tribulation and persecution to the saints, exalting himself against them. And after him, it remains that *the stone* shall come from heaven which *smote the image* and shivered it, and subverted all the kingdoms, and gave the kingdom to the saints of the Most High. This *became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.*

3. As these things, then, are destined to come to pass, and as the toes of the image turn out to be democracies, and the ten horns of the beast are distributed among ten kings, let us look at what is before us more carefully, and scan it, as it

were, with open eye. The *golden head of the image* is identical with the *lioness*, by which the Babylonians were represented. *The golden shoulders and the arms of silver* are the same with the *bear*, by which the Persians and Medes are meant. *The belly and thighs of brass* are the *leopard*, by which the Greeks who ruled from Alexander onwards are intended. The *legs of iron* are the *dreadful and terrible beast*, by which the Romans who hold the empire now are meant. The *toes of clay and iron* are the *ten horns* which are to be. The *one other little horn springing up in their midst* is the *antichrist*. The stone that *smites the image and breaks it in pieces*, and that filled the whole earth, is Christ, who comes from heaven and brings judgment on the world.

4. But that we may not leave our subject at this point undemonstrated, we are obliged to discuss the matter of the times, of which a man should not speak hastily, because they are a light to him. For as the times are noted from the foundation of the world, and reckoned from Adam, they set clearly before us the matter with which our inquiry deals. For the first appearance of our Lord in the flesh took place in Bethlehem, under Augustus, in the year 5500; and He suffered in the thirty-third year. And 6000 years must needs be accomplished, in order that the Sabbath may come, the rest, the holy day *on which God rested from all His works*.[1] For the Sabbath is the type and emblem of the future kingdom of the saints, when they *shall reign with Christ*, when He comes from heaven, as John says in his Apocalypse: for *a day with the Lord is as a thousand years*.[2] Since, then, in SIX days God made all things, it follows that 6000 years must be fulfilled. And they are not yet fulfilled, as John says: *five are fallen; one is*, that is, the sixth; *the other is not yet come*.[3]

5. In mentioning the *other*, moreover, he specifies the

[1] This is what Photius condemned in Hippolytus. Irenæus, however, held the same opinion (book v. c. 28 and 29). The same view is expressed yet earlier in the Epistle of Barnabas (sec. 15). It was an opinion adopted from the rabbis.

[2] Ps. xc. 4.

[3] Apoc. xvii. 10.

seventh, in which there is rest. But some one may be ready to say, How will you prove to me that the Saviour was born in the year 5500? Learn that easily, O man; for the things that took place of old in the wilderness, under Moses, in the case of the tabernacle, were constituted types and emblems of spiritual mysteries, in order that, when the truth came in Christ in these last days, you might be able to perceive that these things were fulfilled. For He says to him, *And thou shalt make the ark of imperishable wood, and shalt overlay it with pure gold within and without; and thou shalt make the length of it two cubits and a half, and the breadth thereof one cubit and a half, and a cubit and a half the height;*[1] which measures, when summed up together, make five cubits and a half, so that the 5500 years might be signified thereby.

6. At that time, then, the Saviour appeared and showed His own body to the world, (born) of the Virgin, who was the *ark overlaid with pure gold*, with the Word within and the Holy Spirit without; so that the truth is demonstrated, and the *ark* made manifest. From the birth of Christ, then, we must reckon the 500 years that remain to make up the 6000, and thus the end shall be. And that the Saviour appeared in the world, bearing the imperishable ark, His own body, at a time which was the fifth and half, John declares: *Now it was the sixth hour*,[2] he says, intimating by that, one half of the day. But a day with the Lord is 1000 years; and the half of that, therefore, is 500 years. For it was not meet that He should appear earlier, for the burden of the law still endured, nor yet when the sixth day was fulfilled (for the baptism is changed), but on the fifth and half, in order that in the remaining half time the gospel might be preached to the whole world, and that when the sixth day was completed He might end the present life.

7. Since, then, the Persians held the mastery for 330 years,[3] and after them the Greeks, who were yet more glorious, held

[1] Ex. xxv. 10. [2] John xix. 14.

[3] Migne thinks we should read διακόσια τριάκοντα, *i.e.* 230, as it is also in Julius Africanus, who was contemporary with Hippolytus. As to the duration of the Greek empire, Hippolytus and Africanus make it both

it for 300 years, of necessity the fourth beast, as being strong and mightier than all that were before it, will reign 500 years. When the times are fulfilled, and the ten horns spring from the beast in the last (times), then Antichrist will appear among them. When he makes war against the saints, and persecutes them, then may we expect the manifestation of the Lord from heaven.

8. The prophet having thus instructed us with all exactness as to the certainty of the things that are to be, broke off from his present subject, and passed again to the kingdom of the Persians and Greeks, recounting to us another vision which took place, and was fulfilled in its proper time; in order that, by establishing our belief in this, he might be able to present us to God as readier believers in the things that are to be. Accordingly, what he had narrated in the first vision, he again recounts in detail for the edification of the faithful. For by the *ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward*, he means Darius, the king of the Persians, who overcame all the nations; *for*, says he, *these beasts shall not stand before him.* And by the *he-goat that came from the west*, he means Alexander the Macedonian, the king of the Greeks; and in that he *came against that very ram, and was moved with choler, and smote him upon the face, and shivered him, and cast him upon the ground, and stamped upon him*, this expresses just what has happened.

9. For Alexander waged war against Darius, and overcame him, and made himself master of the whole sovereignty, after routing and destroying his camp. Then, after the exaltation of the he-goat, his horn—the great one, namely—was broken; and there arose four horns under it, toward the four winds of heaven. For, when Alexander had made himself master of all the land of Persia, and had reduced its people into subjection, he thereupon died, after dividing his kingdom into four principalities, as has been shown above. And from that time *one horn was exalted, and waxed great, even to the power*

300 years, if we follow Jerome's version of the latter in his comment on Dan. ix. 24. Eusebius makes it seventy years longer in his *Demonstr. Evang.* viii. 2.

of heaven; and by him the sacrifice, he says, *was disturbed, and righteousness cast down to the ground.*

10. For Antiochus arose, surnamed Epiphanes, who was of the line of Alexander. And after he had reigned in Syria, and brought under him all Egypt, he went up to Jerusalem, and entered the sanctuary, and seized all the treasures in the house of the Lord, and the golden candlestick, and the table, and the altar, and made a great slaughter in the land; even as it is written: *And the sanctuary shall be trodden under foot, unto evening and unto morning, a thousand and three hundred days.* For it happened that the sanctuary remained desolate during that period, three years and a half, that the thousand and three hundred days might be fulfilled; until Judas Maccabæus arose after the death of his father Matthias, and withstood him, and destroyed the encampment of Antiochus, and delivered the city, and recovered the sanctuary, and restored it in strict accordance with the law.

11. Since, then, the angel Gabriel also recounted these things to the prophet, as they have been understood by us, as they have also taken place, and as they have been all clearly described in the books of the Maccabees, let us see further what he says on the other weeks. For when he read the book of Jeremiah the prophet, in which it was written that the sanctuary would be desolate seventy years, he made confession with fastings and supplications, and prayed that the people might return sooner from their captivity to the city Jerusalem. Thus, then, he speaks in his account: *In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, who was king over the realm of the Chaldæans, I Daniel understood in the books the number of the years, as the word of the Lord had come to Jeremiah the prophet, for the accomplishment of the desolation of Jerusalem in seventy years*, etc.

12. After his confession and supplication, the angel says to him, *Thou art a man*[1] *greatly beloved:* for thou desirest to see things of which thou shalt be informed by me; and in their own time these things will be fulfilled; and he touched me, saying, *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and*

[1] Literally, "a man of desires."

upon the holy city, to seal up sins and to blot out transgressions, and to seal up vision and prophet, and to anoint the Most Holy; and thou shalt know and understand, that from the going forth of words for the answer, and for the building of Jerusalem, unto Christ the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks.

13. Having mentioned therefore seventy weeks, and having divided them into two parts, in order that what was spoken by him to the prophet might be better understood, he proceeds thus, *Unto Christ the Prince shall be seven weeks*, which make forty-nine years. It was in the twenty-first year that Daniel saw these things in Babylon. Hence, the forty-nine years added to the twenty-one, make up the seventy years, of which the blessed Jeremiah spake: *The sanctuary shall be desolate seventy years from the captivity that befell them under Nebuchadnezzar; and after these things the people will return, and sacrifice and offering will be presented, when Christ is their Prince.*[1]

14. Now of what Christ does he speak, but of Jesus the son of Josedech, who returned at that time along with the people, and offered sacrifice according to the law, in the seventieth year, when the sanctuary was built? For all the kings and priests were styled Christs, because they were anointed with the holy oil, which Moses of old prepared. These, then, bore the name of the Lord in their own persons, showing aforetime the type, and presenting the image until the perfect King and Priest appeared from heaven, who alone did the will of the Father; as also it is written in Kings: *And I will raise me up a faithful priest, that shall do all things according to my heart.*[2]

15. In order, then, to show the time when He is to come whom the blessed Daniel desired to see, he says, *And after seven weeks there are other threescore and two weeks*, which period embraces the space of 434 years. For after the return of the people from Babylon under the leadership of Jesus the son of Josedech, and Ezra the scribe, and Zerubbabel the son of Salathiel, of the tribe of David, there were

[1] Jer. xxv. 11. [2] 1 Sam. ii. 35.

434 years unto the coming of Christ, in order that the Priest of priests might be manifested in the world, and that He who taketh away the sins of the world might be evidently set forth, as John speaks concerning Him: *Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world!*[1] And in like manner Gabriel says: *To blot out transgressions, and make reconciliation for sins.* But who has blotted out our transgressions? Paul the apostle teaches us, saying, *He is our peace who made both one;*[2] and then, *Blotting out the handwriting of sins that was against us.*[3]

16. That transgressions, therefore, are blotted out, and that reconciliation is made for sins, is shown by this. But who are they who have reconciliation made for their sins, but they who believe on His name, and propitiate His countenance by good works? And that after the return of the people from Babylon there was a space of 434 years, until the time of the birth of Christ, may be easily understood. For, since the first covenant was given to the children of Israel after a period of 434 years, it follows that the second covenant also should be defined by the same space of time, in order that it might be expected by the people and easily recognised by the faithful.

17. And for this reason Gabriel says: *And to anoint the Most Holy.* And the Most Holy is none else but the Son of God alone, who, when He came and manifested Himself, said to them, *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He has anointed me;*[4] and so forth. Whosoever, therefore, believed on the heavenly Priest, were cleansed by that same Priest, and their sins were blotted out. And whosoever believed not on Him, despising Him as a man, had their sins sealed, as those which could not be taken away; whence the angel, foreseeing that not all should believe on Him, said, *To finish sins, and to seal up sins.* For as many as continued to disbelieve Him, even to the end, had their sins not finished, but sealed to be kept for judgment. But as many as will believe on Him as One able to remit sins, have their

[1] John i. 29.
[2] Eph. ii. 14.
[3] Col. ii. 14.
[4] Isa. lxi. 1; Luke iv. 18.

sins blotted out. Wherefore he says: *And to seal up vision and prophet.*

18. For when He came who is the fulfilling of the law and of the prophets (for the law and the prophets were till John), it was necessary that the things spoken by them should be confirmed (sealed), in order that at the coming of the Lord all things loosed should be brought to light, and that things bound of old should now be loosed by Him, as the Lord said Himself to the rulers of the people, when they were indignant at the cure on the Sabbath-day: *Ye hypocrites, doth not each one of you loose his ox or his ass from the stall, and lead him away to watering? and ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound these eighteen years, be loosed on the Sabbath-day?*[1] Whomsoever, therefore, Satan bound in chains, these did the Lord on His coming loose from the bonds of death, having bound our strong adversary and delivered humanity. As also Isaiah says: *Then will He say to those in chains, Go forth; and to them that are in darkness, Show yourselves.*[2]

19. And that the things spoken of old by the law and the prophets were all sealed, and that they were unknown to men, Isaiah declares when he says: *And they will deliver the book that is sealed to one that is learned, and will say to him, Read this; and he will say, I cannot read it, for it is sealed.*[3] It was meet and necessary that the things spoken of old by the prophets should be sealed to the unbelieving Pharisees, who thought that they understood the letter of the law, and be opened to the believing. The things, therefore, which of old were sealed, are now by the grace of God the Lord all open to the saints.

20. For He was Himself the perfect Seal, and the church is the key: *He who openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth,*[4] as John says. And again, the same says: *And I saw, on the right hand of Him that sat on the throne, a book written within and without, sealed with seven seals; and I saw an angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?* and so

[1] Luke xiii. 15, 16. [2] Isa. xlix. 9. [3] Isa. xxix. 11. [4] Apoc. iii. 7.

forth. *And I beheld in the midst of the throne, and of the four beasts, a Lamb standing slain, having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth. And He came and took the book out of the right hand of Him that sat upon the throne. And when He had taken the book, the four beasts and four-and-twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having harps and golden vials full of incense, which is the prayers of the saints. And they sing a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by Thy blood.*[1] He took the book, therefore, and loosed it, in order that the things spoken concerning Him of old in secret, might now be proclaimed with boldness upon the house-tops.[2]

21. For this reason, then, the angel says to Daniel, *Seal the words, for the vision is until the end of the time.* But to Christ it was not said *seal*, but *loose* the things bound of old; in order that, by His grace, we might know the will of the Father, and believe upon Him whom He has sent for the salvation of men, Jesus our Lord. He says, therefore, *They shall return, and the street shall be built, and the wall;* which in reality took place. For the people returned and built the city, and the temple, and the wall round about. Then he says: *After threescore and two weeks the times will be fulfilled, and one week will make a covenant with many; and in the midst (half) of the week sacrifice and oblation will be removed, and in the temple will be the abomination of desolations.*

22. For when the threescore and two weeks are fulfilled, and Christ is come, and the gospel is preached in every place, the times being then accomplished, there will remain only one week, the last, in which Elias will appear, and Enoch, and in the midst of it the abomination of desolation will be manifested,[3] viz. Antichrist, announcing desolation to the world. And when he comes, the sacrifice and oblation will be removed, which now are offered to God in every place by the nations. These things being thus recounted, the prophet

[1] Apoc. v.

[2] Cf. Matt. x. 27.

[3] In the text, the word ἕως, *until*, is introduced, which seems spurious.

again describes another vision to us. For he had no other care save to be accurately instructed in all things that are to be, and to prove himself an instructor in such.

23. He says then: *In the third year of Cyrus king of Persia, a word was revealed unto Daniel, whose name was Belshazzar; and the word was true, and great power and understanding were given him in the vision. In those days, I Daniel was mourning three weeks of days. I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine into my mouth, neither did I anoint myself at all, till three weeks of days were fulfilled. On the fourth day of the first month I humbled myself,* says he, *one and twenty days*, praying to the living God, and asking of Him the revelation of the mystery. And the Father in truth heard me, and sent His own Word, to show what should happen by Him. And that took place, indeed, by the great river. For it was meet that the Son should be manifested there, where also He was to remove sins.

24. *And I lifted up mine eyes*, he says, *and, behold, a man clothed in linen.*[1] In the first vision he says, *Behold, the angel Gabriel* (*was*) *sent.* Here, however, it is not so; but he sees the Lord, not yet indeed as perfect man, but with the appearance and form of man, as he says: *And, behold, a man clothed in linen.* For in being clothed in a various-coloured coat, he indicated mystically[2] the variety of the graces of our calling. For the priestly coat was made up of different colours, as various nations waited for Christ's coming, in order that we might be made up (as one body) of many colours. *And his loins were girded with the gold of Ophaz.*

25. Now the word *Ophaz*, which is a word transferred from Hebrew to Greek, denotes pure gold. With a pure girdle, therefore, he was girded round the loins. For the Word was to bear us all, binding us like a girdle round His body, in His own love. The complete body was His,[3] but we are members in His body, united together, and sustained by the

[1] βαδδίν.

[2] In the text, μυστηρίων (of *mysteries*), for which μυστηριωδῶς or μυστικῶς, *mystically*, is proposed.

[3] The Latin translation renders: His body was perfect.

Word Himself. *And his body was like Tharses.*[1] Now *Tharses*, by interpretation, is *Ethiopians*. For that it would be difficult to recognise Him, the prophet had thus already announced beforehand, intimating that He would be manifested in the flesh in the world, but that many would find it difficult to recognise Him. *And his face as lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire;* for it was meet that the fiery and judicial power of the Word should be signified aforetime, in the exercise of which He will cause the fire (of His judgment) to light with justice upon the impious, and consume them.

26. He added also these words: *And his arms and his feet like polished brass;* to denote the first calling of men, and the second calling like unto it, viz. of the Gentiles. [2]*For the last shall be as the first; for I will set thy rulers as at the beginning, and thy leaders as before. And His voice was as the voice of a great multitude.*[3] For all we who believe on Him in these days utter things oracular, as speaking by His mouth the things appointed by Him.

27. And after a little He says to him: *Knowest thou wherefore I come unto thee? And now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia. But I will show thee that which is noted in the Scripture of truth: and there is none that holdeth with me in these things but Michael your prince, and I left him there. For from the day that thou didst give thy countenance to be afflicted before the Lord thy God, thy prayer was heard, and I was sent to fight with the prince of Persia:* for a certain counsel was formed not to send the people away: *that therefore thy prayer might be speedily granted, I withstood him, and left Michael there.*

28. And who was he that spake, but the angel who was given to the people, as he says in the law of Moses: *I will not go with you, because the people is stiff-necked; but my angel shall go before along with you?*[4] This (angel) withstood Moses at the inn, when he was bringing the child uncircum-

[1] "Tharses" (Θαρσεῖς) in Hippolytus. The Septuagint gives Θαρσίς as the translation of the Hebrew תַּרְשִׁישׁ, rendered in our version as *beryl* (Dan. x. 6).

[2] Isa. i. 26. [3] Apoc. xix. 6. [4] Ex. xxxii. 4, xxxiii. 3.

cised into Egypt. For it was not allowed Moses, who was the elder (or legate) and mediator of the law, and who proclaimed the covenant of the fathers, to introduce a child uncircumcised, lest he should be deemed a false prophet and deceiver by the people. *And now*, says he, *will I show the truth to thee.* Could the Truth have shown anything else but the truth?

29. He says therefore to him: *Behold, there shall stand up three kings in Persia: and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and when he has got possession of his riches, he shall stand up against all the realms of Grecia. And a mighty king shall stand up, and shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will; and when his kingdom stands, it shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven.* These things we have already discussed above, when we discoursed upon the four beasts. But since Scripture now again sets them forth explicitly, we must also discourse upon them a second time, that we may not leave Scripture unused and unexplained.

30. *There shall stand up yet three kings*, he says, *in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all.* This has been fulfilled. For after Cyrus arose Darius, and then Artaxerxes. These were the three kings; (and) the Scripture is fulfilled. *And the fourth shall be far richer than they all.* Who is that but Darius, who reigned and made himself glorious,—who was rich, and assailed all the realms of Greece? Against him rose Alexander of Macedon, who destroyed his kingdom; and after he had reduced the Persians, his own kingdom was divided toward the four winds of heaven. For Alexander at his death divided his kingdom into four principalities. *And a king shall stand up, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of Egypt.*

31. For Antiochus became king of Syria. He held the sovereignty in the 107th year of the kingdom of the Greeks. And in those same times indeed he made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt, and conquered him, and won the power. On returning from Egypt he went up to Jerusalem, in the 103d year, and carrying off with him all the treasures of the Lord's house, he marched to Antioch. And after two

years of days the king sent his raiser of taxes[1] into the cities of Judea, to compel the Jews to forsake the laws of their fathers, and submit to the decrees of the king. And he came, and tried to compel them, saying, *Come forth, and do the commandment of the king, and ye shall live.*

32. But they said, *We will not come forth, neither will we do the king's commandment; we will die in our innocency: and he slew of them a thousand souls.*[2] The things, therefore, which were spoken to the blessed Daniel are fulfilled: *And my servants shall be afflicted, and shall fall by famine, and by sword, and by captivity.*[3] Daniel, however, adds: *And they shall be holpen with a little help.* For at that time Matthias arose, and Judas Maccabæus, and helped them, and delivered them from the hand of the Greeks.

33. That therefore was fulfilled which was spoken in the Scripture. He proceeds then thus: *And the (king's) daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement with him; and the arms of him that bringeth her shall not stand; and she, too, shall be smitten, and shall fall, and he that bringeth her.* For this was a certain Ptolemaïs,[4] queen of Egypt. At that time indeed she went forth with her two sons, Ptolemy and Philometor, to make an agreement with Antiochus king of Syria; and when she came to Scythopolis, she was slain there. For he who brought her betrayed her. At that same time, the two brothers made war against each other, and Philometor was slain, and Ptolemy gained the power.

34. War, then, was again made by Ptolemy against Antiochus, (and) Antiochus met him. For thus saith the Scripture: *And the king of the South shall stand up against the king of the North, and her seed shall stand up against him.* And what seed but Ptolemy, who made war with Antiochus? And Antiochus having gone forth against him, and having failed to overcome him, had to flee, and returned to Antioch,

[1] φορολόγον. [2] 1 Macc. ii. 33. [3] Dan. xi. 33.

[4] He seems to refer to Cleopatra, wife and niece of Physco. For Lathyrus was sometimes called Philometor in ridicule (ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ), as Pausanias says in the *Attica*.

and collected a larger host. Ptolemy accordingly took his whole equipment, and carried it into Egypt. And the Scripture is fulfilled, as Daniel says: And he shall carry off into Egypt their gods, and their cast-works, and all their precious (vessels of) gold.

35. And after these things Antiochus went forth a second time to make war against him, and overcame Ptolemy. And after these events Antiochus commenced hostilities again against the children of Israel, and despatched one Nicanor with a large army to subdue the Jews, at the time when Judas, after the death of Matthias, ruled the people; and so forth, as is written in the Maccabees. These events having taken place, the Scripture says again: *And there shall stand up another king, and he shall prevail upon the earth; and the king of the South shall stand up, and he shall obtain his daughter to wife*

36. For it happened that there arose a certain Alexander,[1] son of Philip. He withstood Antiochus[2] at that time, and made war upon him, and cut him off, and gained possession of the kingdom. Then he sent to Ptolemy king of Egypt, saying, Give me thy daughter Cleopatra to wife. And he gave her to Alexander to wife. And thus the Scripture is fulfilled, when it says: *And he shall obtain his daughter to wife.* And it says further: *And he shall corrupt her, and she shall not be his wife.* This also has been truly fulfilled. For after Ptolemy had given him his daughter, he returned, and saw the mighty and glorious kingdom of Alexander. And coveting its possession, he spoke falsely to Alexander, as the Scripture says: *And the two kings shall speak lies at* (*one*) *table.* And, in sooth, Ptolemy betook himself to Egypt,

[1] He refers to Alexander I. king of Syria, of whom we read in 1 Macc. x. He pretended to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and even gained a decree of the senate of Rome in his favour as such. Yet he was a person of unknown origin, as indeed he acknowledged himself in his choice of the designation *Theopator*. Livy calls him "a man unknown, and of uncertain parentage" (*homo ignotus et incertæ stirpis*). So Hippolytus calls him here, "a certain Alexander" (τινα). He had also other surnames, *e.g.* Euergetes, Balas, etc.

[2] For "Antiochus" in the text, read "Demetrius."

and collected a great army, and attacked the city at the time when Alexander had marched into Cilicia.

37. Ptolemy then invaded the country, and established garrisons throughout the cities; and on making himself master of Judea, set out for his daughter, and sent letters to Demetrius in the islands, saying, Come and meet me here, and I will give thee my daughter Cleopatra to wife, for Alexander has sought to kill me. Demetrius came accordingly, and Ptolemy received him, and gave him her who had been destined for Alexander. Thus is fulfilled that which is written: *And he shall corrupt her, and she shall not be his wife.* Alexander was slain. Then Ptolemy wore two crowns, that of Syria and that of Egypt, and died the third day after he had assumed them. Thus is fulfilled that which is written in Scripture: *And they shall not give him the glory of the kingdom.* For he died, and received not honour from all as king.

38. The prophet then, after thus recounting the things which have taken place already, and been fulfilled in their times, declares yet another mystery to us, while he points out the last times. For he says: *And there shall rise up another shameless king; and he shall exalt himself above every god, and shall magnify himself, and shall speak marvellous things, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished;* and so forth. *And these shall escape out of his hand, Edom, and Moab, and the chief (or principality) of the children of Ammon. And he shall stretch forth his hand upon the land; and the land of Egypt shall not escape. And he shall have power over the secret treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt and of the Libyans, and the Ethiopians in their strongholds.*

39. Thus, then, does the prophet set forth these things concerning the Antichrist, who shall be shameless, a war-maker, and despot, who, exalting himself above all kings and above every god, shall build the city of Jerusalem, and restore the sanctuary. Him the impious will worship as God, and will bend to him the knee, thinking him to be the Christ. He shall cut off the two witnesses and forerunners of Christ, who proclaim His glorious kingdom from heaven, as it is

said: *And I will give (power) unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth.*[1] As also it was announced to Daniel: *And one week shall confirm a covenant with many; and in the midst of the week it shall be that the sacrifice and oblation shall be removed*—that the one week might be shown to be divided into two. The two witnesses, then, shall preach three years and a half; and Antichrist shall make war upon the saints during the rest of the week, and desolate the world, that what is written may be fulfilled: *And they shall make the abomination of desolation for a thousand two hundred and ninety days.*

40. Daniel has spoken, therefore, of two abominations; the one of destruction, and the other of desolation. What is that of destruction, but that which Antiochus established there at the time? And what is that of desolation, but that which shall be universal when Antichrist comes? *And there shall escape out of his hand, Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.* For these are they who ally themselves with him on account of their kinship, and first address him as king. Those of Edom are the sons of Esau, who inhabit Mount Seir. And Moab and Ammon are they who are descended from his two daughters, as Isaiah also says: *And they shall fly (extend themselves) in the ships of strangers, and they shall also plunder the sea; and those from the east, and from the west, and the north, shall give them honour: and the children of Ammon shall first obey them.*[2] He shall be proclaimed king by them, and shall be magnified by all, and shall prove himself an abomination of desolation to the world, and shall reign for a thousand two hundred and ninety days. *Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days;* for when the abomination cometh and makes war upon the saints, whosoever shall survive his days, and reach the forty-five days, while the other period of fifty days advances, to him the kingdom of heaven comes. Antichrist, indeed, enters even into part of the fifty days, but the saints shall inherit the kingdom along with Christ.

[1] Apoc. xi. 3. [2] Isa. xi. 14.

41. These things being thus narrated, Daniel proceeds: *And, behold, there stood two men, the one on this side of the bank of the river, and the other on that side; and they made answer to the man that stood upon the bank of the river, and said to him, How long shall it be to the end of these wonderful words which thou hast spoken? And I heard the man clothed in linen, who was upon the water of the river; and he lifted up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by Him that liveth for ever, that it shall be for a time, times, and an half; and they shall know all these things when the dispersion is accomplished.*

42. Who, then, were the two men who stood on the bank of the river, but the law and the prophets? And who was he who stood upon the water, but He concerning whom they prophesied of old, who in the last times was to be borne witness to by the Father at the Jordan, and to be declared to the people boldly by John, *who wore the casty*[1] *of the scribe about his loins, and was clothed with a linen coat of various colours?* These, therefore, interrogate Him, knowing that to Him were given all government and power, in order to learn accurately of Him when He will bring the judgment on the world, and when the things spoken by Him will be fulfilled. And He, desiring by all means to convince them, lifted His right hand and His left hand to heaven, and sware by Him that liveth for ever. Who is He that swore, and by whom sware He? Manifestly the Son by the Father, saying, The Father liveth for ever, but in a time, and times, and an half, when the dispersion is accomplished, they shall know all these things.

43. By the stretching forth of His two hands He signified His passion; and by mentioning *a time, and times, and an half, when the dispersion is accomplished*, He indicated the three years and a half of Antichrist. For by *a time* He means a year, and by *times* two years, and by an *half time* half a year. These are the thousand two hundred and ninety days of which Daniel prophesied for the finishing of the passion, and the accomplishment of the dispersion when Antichrist comes.

[1] Girdle.

In those days they shall know all these things. And from the time of the removal of the continuous sacrifice there are also reckoned one thousand two hundred and ninety days. (Then) iniquity shall abound, as the Lord also says: *Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold.*[1]

44. And that divisions will arise when the falling away takes place, is without doubt. And when divisions arise, love is chilled. The words, *Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days*, have also their value, as the Lord said: *But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved.* Wherefore let us by no means admit the falling away, lest iniquity abound, and the abomination of desolation—that is, the adversary—overtake us. And He said to him, *unto evening*—that is, unto the consummation—*and morning.* What is *morning?* The day of resurrection. For that is the beginning of another age, as the morning is the beginning of the day. And the thousand and four hundred days are the light of the world. For on the appearing of the light in the world (as He says, *I am the light of the world*), the sanctuary shall be purged, as he said,[2] (of) the adversary. For it cannot by any means be purged but by his destruction.

SCHOLIA ON DANIEL.

[Mai, *Script. vet. collectio nova*, i. p. iii. pp. 29-56.]

Chap. i. 1. *In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim.* The Scripture narrates these things, with the purpose of intimating the second captivity of the people, when Jehoiakim and the three youths with him, together with Daniel, were taken captive and carried off.

2. *And the Lord gave*, etc. These words, *and the Lord gave*, are written, that no one, in reading the introduction to the book, may attribute their capture to the strength of the captors and the slackness of their chief. And it is well said, *with part*, for the deportation was for the correction, not the

[1] Matt. xxiv. 12.

[2] The text gives ὁ ἀντικείμενος, which is corrupt.

ruin, of the whole nation, that there might be no misapplication of the cause.

8. *And Daniel purposed in his heart.* Oh, blessed are they who thus kept the covenant of the fathers, and transgressed not the law given by Moses, but feared the God proclaimed by him. These, though captives in a strange land, were not seduced by delicate meats, nor were they slaves to the pleasures of wine, nor were they caught by the bait of princely glory. But they kept their mouth holy and pure, that pure speech might proceed from pure mouths, and praise with such (mouths) the heavenly Father.

12. *Prove now thy servants.* They teach that it is not earthly meats that give to men their beauty and strength, but the grace of God bestowed by the Word. *And after a little.* Thou hast seen the incorruptible faith of the youths, and the unalterable fear of God. They asked an interval of ten days, to prove therein that man cannot otherwise find grace with God than by believing the word preached by the Lord.

19. *And among them all, was found none like Daniel.* These men, who were proved faithful witnesses in Babylon, were led by the Word in all wisdom, that by their means the idols of the Babylonians should be put to shame, and that Nebuchadnezzar should be overcome by three youths, and that by their faith the fire in the furnace should be kept at bay, and the desire of the wicked elders (or chiefs) proved vain.

Chap. ii. 3. *I have dreamed a dream.* The dream, then, which was seen by the king was not an earthly dream, so that it might be interpreted by the wise of the world; but it was a heavenly dream, fulfilled in its proper times, according to the counsel and foreknowledge of God. And for this reason it was kept secret from men who think of earthly things, that to those who seek after heavenly things heavenly mysteries might be revealed. And, indeed, there was a similar case in Egypt in the time of Pharaoh and Joseph.

5. *The thing is gone from me.* For this purpose was the vision concealed from the king, that he who was chosen of God, viz. Daniel, might be shown to be a prophet. For

when things concealed from some are revealed by another, he who tells them is of necessity shown to be a prophet.

10. *And they say, There is not a man.* Whereas, therefore, they declared it to be impossible that what was asked by the king should be told by man; God showed them, that what is impossible with man is possible with God.

14. *Arioch, the captain of the king's guard* (literally, *the chief slaughterer or cook*). For as the cook slays all animals and cooks them, of a similar nature was his occupation. And the rulers of the world slay men, butchering them like brute beasts.

23. *Because Thou hast given me wisdom and might.* We ought therefore to mark the goodness of God, how He straightway reveals and shows (Himself) to the worthy, and to those that fear Him, fulfilling their prayers and supplications, as the prophet says: *Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? and prudent, and he shall know them?*[1]

27. *Cannot the wise men, the magicians.* He instructs the king not to seek an explanation of heavenly mysteries from earthly men, for they shall be accomplished in their due time by God.

29. *As for thee, O king, thy thoughts.* For the king, on making himself master of the land of Egypt, and getting hold of the country of Judea, and carrying off the people, thought upon his bed what should be after these things; and He who knows the secrets of all, and searcheth the thoughts of the hearts, revealed to him by means of the image the things that were to be. And He hid from him the vision, in order that the counsels of God might not be interpreted by the wise men of Babylon, but that by the blessed Daniel, as a prophet of God, things kept secret from all might be made manifest.

31. *Behold a great image.* How, then, should we not mark the things prophesied of old in Babylon by Daniel, and now yet in the course of fulfilment in the world? For the image shown at that time to Nebuchadnezzar furnished a type of the whole world. In these times the Babylonians were

[1] Hos. xiv. 9.

sovereign over all, and these were the golden head of the image. And then, after them, the Persians held the supremacy for 245 years, and they were represented by the silver. Then the Greeks had the supremacy, beginning with Alexander of Macedon, for 300 years, so that they were the brass. After them came the Romans, who were the iron legs of the image, for they were strong as iron. Then (we have) the toes of clay and iron, to signify the democracies that were subsequently to rise, partitioned among the ten toes of the image, in which shall be iron mixed with clay.

31. *Thou sawest*, etc. Apollinaris on this: He looked, and behold, as it were, an image. For it did not appear to him as an actual object, presented to the view of an onlooker, but as an image or semblance. And while it contains in it many things together, that is in such a way that it is not really one, but manifold. For it comprised a summary of all kingdoms; and its exceeding splendour was on account of the glory of the kings, and its terrible appearance on account of their power. Eusebius Pamphili, and Hippolytus the most holy bishop of Rome, compare the dream of Nebuchadnezzar now in question with the vision of the prophet Daniel. Since these have given a different interpretation of this vision now before us in their expositions, I deemed it necessary to transcribe what is said by Eusebius of Cæsarea, who bears the surname Pamphili, in the 15th book of his *Gospel Demonstration*;[1] for he expounds the whole vision in these terms: "I think that this (*i.e.* the vision of Nebuchadnezzar) differs in nothing from the vision of the prophet. For as the prophet saw a great sea, so the king saw a great image. And again, as the prophet saw four beasts, which he interpreted as four kingdoms, so the king was given to understand four kingdoms under the gold, and silver, and brass, and iron. And again, as the prophet saw the division of the ten horns of the last beast, and three horns broken by one; so the king, in like manner, saw in the extremities of the image one part iron and another clay. And besides this, as

[1] This book is not now extant, the first ten alone having reached our time.

the prophet, after the vision of the four kingdoms, saw the Son of man receive dominion, and power, and a kingdom; so also the king thought he saw a stone smite the whole image, and become a great mountain and fill the sea. And rightly so. For it was quite consistent in the king, whose view of the spectacle of life was so false, and who admired the beauty of the mere sensible colours, so to speak, in the picture set up to view, to liken the life of all men to a great image; but (it became) the prophet to compare the great and mighty tumult of life to a mighty sea. And it was fitting that the king, who prized the substances deemed precious among men, gold, and silver, and brass, and iron, should liken to these substances the kingdoms that held the sovereignty at different times in the life of men; but that the prophet should describe these same kingdoms under the likeness of beasts, in accordance with the manner of their rule. And again, the king—who was puffed up, as it seems, in his own conceit, and plumed himself on the power of his ancestors—is shown the vicissitude to which affairs are subject, and the end destined for all the kingdoms of earth, with the view of teaching him to lay aside his pride in himself, and understand that there is nothing stable among men, but only that which is the appointed end of all things—the kingdom of God. For after the first kingdom of the Assyrians, which was denoted by the gold, there will be the second kingdom of the Persians, expressed by the silver; and then the third kingdom of the Macedonians, signified by the brass; and after it, the fourth kingdom of the Romans will succeed, more powerful than those that went before it; for which reason also it was likened to iron. For of it it is said: *And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron; as iron breaketh and subdueth all things, so shall it break and subdue all things.* And after all these kingdoms which have been mentioned, the kingdom of God is represented by the stone that breaks the whole image. And the prophet, in conformity with this, does not see the kingdom which comes at the end of all these things, until he has in order described the four dominions mentioned under the four beasts. And I think

that the visions shown, both to the king and to the prophet, were visions of these four kingdoms alone, and of none others, because by these the nation of the Jews was held in bondage from the times of the prophet."

33. *His feet*, etc. Hippolytus: In the vision of the prophet, the ten horns are the things that are yet to be.

34. *Thou sawest till that a stone was cut.* Thou sawest, as it were, a stone cut without hands, and smiting the image upon its feet. For the human kingdom was decisively separated from the divine; with reference to which it is written, *as it were cut.* The stroke, however, smites the extremities, and in these it broke all dominion that is upon earth.

45. *And the dream is certain.* That no one, therefore, may have any doubt whether the things announced shall turn out so or not, the prophet has confirmed them with the words, *And the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure;* I have not erred in the interpretation of the vision.

46. *Then king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face.* Nebuchadnezzar hearing these things, and being put in remembrance of his vision, knew that what was spoken by Daniel was true. How great is the power of the grace of God, beloved, that one who a little before was doomed to death with the other wise men of Babylon, should now be worshipped by the king, not as man, but as God! *He commanded that they should offer manaa* (*i.e.* in Chaldee, *oblation*) *and sweet odours unto him.* Of old, too, the Lord made a similar announcement to Moses, saying, *See, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh;*[1] in order that, on account of the signs wrought by him in the land of Egypt, Moses might no longer be reckoned a man, but be worshipped as a god by the Egyptians.

48. *Then the king made Daniel a great man.* For as he had humbled himself, and presented himself as the least among all men, God made him great, and the king established him as ruler over the whole land of Babylon. Just as also Pharaoh did to Joseph, appointing him then to be ruler over the whole land of Egypt.

49. *And Daniel requested*, etc. For as they had united

[1] Ex. vii. 1.

with Daniel in prayer to God that the vision might be revealed to him, so Daniel, when he obtained great honour from the king, made mention of them, explaining to the king what had been done by them, in order that they also should be deemed worthy of some honour as fellow-seers and worshippers of God. For when they asked heavenly things from the Lord, they received also earthly things from the king.

Chap. iii. i. *In the eighteenth year*, etc. (These words are wanting in the Vulgate, etc.) A considerable space of time having elapsed, therefore, and the eighteenth year being now in its course, the king, calling to mind his vision, *made an image of gold, whose height was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof six cubits.* For as the blessed Daniel, in interpreting the vision, had answered the king, saying, *Thou art this head of gold in the image*, the king, being puffed up with this address, and elated in heart, made a copy of this image, in order that he might be worshipped by all as God.

7. *All the people fell.* Some (did so) because they feared the king himself; but all (or *most*), because they were idolaters, obeyed the word commanded by the king.

16. *Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego answered*, etc. These three youths are become an example to all faithful men, inasmuch as they did not fear the crowd of satraps, neither did they tremble when they heard the king's words, nor did they shrink when they saw the flame of the blazing furnace, but deemed all men and the whole world as nought, and kept the fear of God alone before their eyes. Daniel, though he stood at a distance and kept silence, encouraged them to be of good cheer as he smiled to them. And he rejoiced also himself at the witness they bore, understanding, as he did, that the three youths would receive a crown in triumph over the devil.

19. *And commanded that they should heat the furnace one seven times more.* He bids the vast furnace be heated one seven times more, as if he were already overcome by them. In earthly things, then, the king was superior; but in faith toward God the three youths were superior. Tell me, Nebuchadnezzar, with what purpose you order them to be cast into the fire bound? Is it lest they might escape, if they

should have their feet unbound, and thus be able to extinguish the fire? But thou doest not these things of thyself, but there is another who worketh these things by thy means.

47.[1] *And the flame streamed forth.* The fire, he means, was driven from within by the angel, and burst forth outwardly. See how even the fire appears intelligent, as if it recognised and punished the guilty. For it did not touch the servants of God, but it consumed the unbelieving and impious Chaldæans. Those who were within were besprinkled with a (cooling) dew by the angel, while those who thought they stood in safety outside the furnace were destroyed by the fire. The men who cast in the youths were burned by the flame, which caught them on all sides, as I suppose, when they went to bind the youths.

92 (*i.e.* 25). *And the form of the fourth is like the Son of God.* Tell me, Nebuchadnezzar, when didst thou see the Son of God, that thou shouldst confess that this is the Son of God? And who pricked thy heart, that thou shouldst utter such a word? And with what eyes wert thou able to look into this light? And why was this manifested to thee alone, and to none of the satraps about thee? But, as it is written, *The heart of a king is in the hand of God:* the hand of God is here, whereby the Word pricked his heart, so that he might recognise Him in the furnace, and glorify Him. And this idea of ours is not without good ground. For as the children of Israel were destined to see God in the world, and yet not to believe on Him, the Scripture showed beforehand that the Gentiles would recognise Him incarnate, whom, while not incarnate, Nebuchadnezzar saw and recognised of old in the furnace, and acknowledged to be the Son of God.

93 (*i.e.* 26). *And he said, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.* The three youths he thus called by name. But he found no name by which to call the fourth. For He was not yet that Jesus born of the Virgin.

97 (*i.e.* 30). *Then the king promoted,* etc. For as they

[1] The verses are numbered according to the Greek translation, which incorporates the apocryphal "song of the three holy children."

honoured God by giving themselves up to death, so, too, they were themselves honoured not only by God, but also by the king. And they taught strange and foreign nations also to worship God.

Chap. vii. 1. *And he wrote the dream.* The things, therefore, which were revealed to the blessed prophet by the Spirit in visions, these he also recounted fully for others, that he might not appear to prophesy of the future to himself alone, but might be proved a prophet to others also, who wish to search the divine Scriptures.

2. *And behold the four winds.* He means created existence in its fourfold division.

3. *And four great beasts.* As various beasts then were shown to the blessed Daniel, and these different from each other, we should understand that the truth of the narrative deals not with certain beasts, but, under the type and image of different beasts, exhibits the kingdoms that have risen in this world in power over the race of man. For by the great sea he means the whole world.

4. *Till the wings thereof were plucked.* For this happened in reality in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, as has been shown in the preceding book. And he bears witness directly that this very thing was fulfilled in himself; for he was driven out of the kingdom, and stripped of his glory, and of the greatness which he formerly possessed. *And after a little:* the words, *It was made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it,* signify that Nebuchadnezzar, when he humbled himself, and acknowledged that he was but a man, in subjection under the power of God, and made supplication to the Lord, found mercy with Him, and was restored to his own kingdom and honour.

5. *A second beast like to a bear.* To represent the kingdom of the Persians. *And it had three ribs.* The three nations he calls three ribs. The meaning, therefore, is this: that beast had the dominion, and these others under it were the Medes, Assyrians, and Babylonians. *And they said thus to it, Arise, devour.* For the Persians arising in these times, devastated every land, and made many men subject to them, and

slew them. For as this beast, the bear, is a foul animal, and carnivorous, tearing with claws and teeth, such also was the kingdom of the Persians, who held the supremacy for two hundred and thirty years.

6. *And, lo, another beast like a leopard.* In mentioning a leopard, he means the kingdom of the Greeks, over whom Alexander of Macedon was king. And he likened them to a leopard, because they were quick and inventive in thought, and bitter in heart, just as that animal is many-coloured in appearance, and quick in wounding and in drinking man's blood.

The beast had also four heads. When the kingdom of Alexander was exalted, and grew, and acquired a name over the whole world, his kingdom was divided into four principalities. For Alexander, when near his end, partitioned his kingdom among his four comrades of the same race, viz. *Seleucus*, *Demetrius*, *Ptolemy*, *and Philip;* and all these assumed crowns, as Daniel prophesies, and as it is written in the first book of Maccabees.

7. *And behold a fourth beast.* Now, that there has arisen no other kingdom after that of the Greeks except that which stands sovereign at present, is manifest to all. This one has iron teeth, because it subdues and reduces all by its strength, just as iron does. And the rest it did tread with its feet, for there is no other kingdom remaining after this one, but from it will spring ten horns.

And it had ten horns. For as the prophet said already of the leopard, that the beast had four heads, and that was fulfilled, and Alexander's kingdom was divided into four principalities, so also now we ought to look for the ten horns which are to spring from it, when the time of the beast shall be fulfilled, and the little horn, which is Antichrist, shall appear suddenly in their midst, and righteousness shall be banished from the earth, and the whole world shall reach its consummation. So that we ought not to anticipate the counsel of God, but exercise patience and prayer, that we fall not on such times. We should not, however, refuse to believe that these things will come to pass. For if the things which the

prophets predicted in former times have not been realized, then we need not look for these things. But if those former things did happen in their proper seasons, as was foretold, these things also shall certainly be fulfilled.

8. *I considered the horns.* That is to say, I looked intently at the beast, and was astonished at everything about it, but especially at the number of the horns. For the appearance of this beast differed from that of the other beasts in kind.

13. *And came to the Ancient of days.* By the Ancient of days he means none other than the Lord and God and Ruler of all, and even of Christ Himself, who maketh the days old, and yet becometh not old Himself by times and days.

14. *His dominion is an everlasting dominion.* The Father having put all things in subjection to His own Son, both things in heaven and things on earth, showed Him forth by all as the first-begotten of God, in order that, along with the Father, He might be approved the Son of God before angels, and be manifested as the Lord also of angels: (He showed Him forth also as) the first-begotten of a virgin, that He might be seen to be in Himself the Creator anew of the first-formed Adam, (and) as the first-begotten from the dead, that He might become Himself the first-fruits of our resurrection.

Which shall not pass away. He exhibited all the dominion given by the Father to His own Son, who is manifested as King of all in heaven and on earth, and under the earth, and as Judge of all: of all in heaven, because He was born the Word, of the heart of the Father before all; and of all in earth, because He was made man, and created Adam anew of Himself; and of all under the earth, because He was also numbered among the dead, and preached to the souls of the saints, (and) by death overcame death.

17. *Which shall arise.* For when the three beasts have finished their course, and been removed, and the one still stands in vigour,—if this one, too, is removed, then finally earthly things (shall) end, and heavenly things begin; that the indissoluble and everlasting kingdom of the saints may be brought to view, and the heavenly King manifested to all, no longer in figure, like one seen in vision, or revealed in a

pillar of cloud upon the top of a mountain, but amid the powers and armies of angels, as God incarnate and man, Son of God and Son of man—coming from heaven as the world's Judge.

19. *And I inquired about the fourth beast.* It is to the fourth kingdom, of which we have already spoken, that he here refers: that kingdom, than which no greater kingdom of like nature has arisen upon the earth; from which also ten horns are to spring, and to be apportioned among ten crowns. And amid these another little horn shall rise, which is that of Antichrist. And it shall pluck up by the roots the three others before it; that is to say, he shall subvert the three kings of Egypt, Libya, and Ethiopia, with the view of acquiring for himself universal dominion. And after conquering the remaining seven horns, he will at last begin, inflated by a strange and wicked spirit, to stir up war against the saints, and to persecute all everywhere, with the aim of being glorified by all, and being worshipped as God.

22. *Until the Ancient of days come.* That is, when at length the Judge of judges and the King of kings comes from heaven, who shall subvert the whole dominion and power of the adversary, and shall consume all with the eternal fire of punishment. But to His servants, and prophets, and martyrs, and to all who fear Him, He will give an everlasting kingdom; that is, they shall possess the endless enjoyment of good.

25. *Until a time, and times, and the dividing of time.* This denotes three years and a half.

Chap. ix. 21. *And, behold, the man Gabriel . . . flying.* You see how the prophet likens the speed of the angels to a winged bird, on account of the light and rapid motion with which these spirits fly so quickly in discharge of orders.

Chap. x. 6. *And the voice of His words.* For all we who now believe on Him declare the words of Christ, as if we spake by His mouth the things enjoined by Him.

7. *And I saw*, etc. For it is to His saints that fear Him, and to them alone, that He reveals Himself. For if any one seems to be living now in the church, and yet has not the

fear of God, his companionship with the saints will avail him nothing.

12. *Thy words were heard.* Behold how much the piety of a righteous man availeth, that to him alone, as to one worthy, things not yet to be manifested in the world should be revealed.

13. *And lo, Michael.* Who is Michael but the angel assigned to the people? As (God) says to Moses, *I will not go with you in the way, because the people are stiff-necked; but my angel shall go with you.*

16. *My inwards are turned* (A. V., *my sorrows are turned upon me*). For it was meet that, at the appearing of the Lord, what was above should be turned beneath, in order that also what was beneath might come above.—I require time, he says, to recover myself, and to be able to endure the words and to make reply to what is said.—But while I was in this position, he continues, I was strengthened beyond my hope. For one unseen touched me, and straightway my weakness was removed, and I was restored to my former strength. For whenever all the strength of our life and its glory pass from us, then are we strengthened by Christ, who stretches forth His hand and raises the living from among the dead, and as it were from Hades itself, to the resurrection of life.

18. *And he strengthened me.* For whenever the Word has made us of good hope with regard to the future, we are able also readily to hear His voice.

20. *To fight with the prince of Persia.* For from the day that thou didst humble thyself before the Lord thy God thy prayer was heard, and I was sent *to fight with the prince of Persia.* For there was a design not to let the people go. Therefore, that thy prayer might be speedily answered, *I stood up against him.*

Chap. xii. 1. *There shall be a time of trouble.* For at that time there shall be great trouble, such as has not been from the foundation of the world, when some in one way, and others in another, shall be sent through every city and country to destroy the faithful; and the saints shall travel from the west to the east, and shall be driven in persecution

from the east to the south, while others shall conceal themselves in the mountains and caves; and the abomination shall war against them everywhere, and shall cut them off by sea and by land by his decree, and shall endeavour by every means to destroy them out of the world; and they shall not be able any longer to sell their own property, nor to buy from strangers, unless one keeps and carries with him the name of the beast, or bears its mark upon his forehead. For then they shall all be driven out from every place, and dragged from their own homes and haled into prison, and punished with all manner of punishment, and cast out from the whole world.

2. *These shall awake to everlasting life.* That is, those who have believed in the true life, and who have their names written in the book of life. *And these to shame.* That is, those who are attached to Antichrist, and who are cast with him into everlasting punishment.

3. *And they that be wise shall shine.* And the Lord has said the same thing in the Gospel: *Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun.*[1]

7. *For a time, times, and an half.* By this he indicated the three and a half years of Antichrist. For by a time he means a year; and by times, two years; and by an half time, half a year. These are the *one thousand two hundred and ninety days* of which Daniel prophesied.

9. *The words are closed up and sealed.* For as a man cannot tell what God has prepared for the saints; for neither has eye seen nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man (to conceive) these things, into which even the saints, too, shall then eagerly desire to look; so He said to him, *For the words are sealed until the time of the end; until many shall be chosen and tried with fire.* And who are they who are chosen, but those who believe the word of truth, so as to be made white thereby, and to cast off the filth of sin, and put on the heavenly, pure, and glorious Holy Spirit, in order that, when the Bridegroom comes, they may go in straightway with Him?

[1] Matt. xiii. 43.

11. *The abomination of desolation shall be given* (*set up*). Daniel speaks, therefore, of two abominations: the one of destruction, which Antiochus set up in its appointed time, and which bears a relation to that of desolation, and the other universal, when Antichrist shall come. For, as Daniel says, he too shall be set up for the destruction of many.

Hippolytus, Bishop of Rome, on Susannah.[1]

What is narrated here, happened at a later time, although it is placed before the first book (at the beginning of the book). For it was a custom with the writers to narrate many things in an inverted order in their writings. For we find also in the prophets some visions recorded among the first and fulfilled among the last; and again, on the other hand, some recorded among the last and fulfilled first. And this was done by the disposition of the Spirit, that the devil might not understand the things spoken in parables by the prophets, and might not a second time lay his snares and ruin man.

Ver. 1. *Called Joacim.* This Joacim, being a stranger in Babylon, obtains Susannah in marriage. And she was the daughter of Chelcias the priest,[2] who found the book of the law in the house of the Lord, when Josiah the king commanded him to purify the holy of holies. His brother was Jeremiah the prophet, who was carried, with the remnant that was left after the deportation of the people to Babylon, into Egypt, and dwelt in Taphnæ;[3] and, while prophesying there, he was stoned to death by the people.

A very fair woman, and one that feared the Lord, etc. For by the fruit produced, the tree also is easily known. For men who are pious and zealous for the law, bring into the world

[1] This apocryphal story of Susannah is found in the Greek texts of the LXX. and Theodotion, in the old Latin and Vulgate, and in the Syriac and Arabic versions. But there is no evidence that it ever formed part of the Hebrew, or of the original Syriac text. It is generally placed at the beginning of the book, as in the Greek MSS. and the old Latin, but is also sometimes set at the end, as in the Vulgate, ed. Compl.

[2] 2 Kings xxii. 8.

[3] Jer. xliii. 8.

children worthy of God; such as he was who became a prophet and witness of Christ, and she who was found chaste and faithful in Babylon, whose honour and chastity were the occasion of the manifestation of the blessed Daniel as a prophet.

4. *Now Joacim was a great rich man*, etc. We must therefore seek the explanation of this. For how could those who were captives, and had been made subject to the Babylonians, meet together in the same place, as if they were their own masters? In this matter, therefore, we should observe that Nebuchadnezzar, after their deportation, treated them kindly, and permitted them to meet together, and do all things according to the law.

7. *And at noon Susannah went into* (*her husband's garden*). Susannah prefigured the church; and Joacim, her husband, Christ; and the garden, the calling of the saints, who are planted like fruitful trees in the church. And Babylon is the world; and the two elders are set forth as a figure of the two peoples that plot against the church—the one, namely, of the circumcision, and the other of the Gentiles. For the words, *were appointed rulers of the people and judges*, (mean) that in this world they exercise authority and rule, judging the righteous unrighteously.

8. *And the two elders saw her.* These things the rulers of the Jews wish now to expunge from the book, and assert that these things did not happen in Babylon, because they are ashamed of what was done then by the elders.

9. *And they perverted their own mind.* For how, indeed, can those who have been the enemies and corrupters of the church judge righteously, or look up to heaven with pure heart, when they have become the slaves of the prince of this world?

10. *And they were both wounded with her* (*love*). This word is to be taken in truth; for always the two peoples, being wounded (instigated) by Satan working in them, strive to raise persecutions and afflictions against the church, and seek how they may corrupt her, though they do not agree with each other.

12. *And they watched diligently.* And this, too, is to be

noted. For up to the present time both the Gentiles and the Jews of the circumcision watch and busy themselves with the dealings of the church, desiring to suborn false witnesses against us, as the apostle says: *And that because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus.*[1]

It is a kind of sin to be anxious to give the mind to women.

14. *And when they were gone out, they parted the one from the other.* As to their parting the one from the other at the hour of dinner (luncheon), this signifies that in the matter of earthly meats the Jews and the Gentiles are not at one; but in their views, and in all worldly matters, they are of one mind, and can meet each other.

14. *And asking one another, they acknowledged their lust.* Thus, in revealing themselves to each other, they foreshadow the time when they shall be proved by their thoughts, and shall have to give account to God for all the sin which they have done, as Solomon says: *And scrutiny shall destroy the ungodly.*[2] For these are convicted by the scrutiny.

15. *As they watched a fit time.* What fit time but that of the passover, at which the laver is prepared in the garden for those who burn, and Susannah washes herself, and is presented as a pure bride to God?

With two maids only. For when the church desires to take the laver according to use, she must of necessity have two handmaids to accompany her. For it is by faith on Christ and love to God that the church confesses and receives the laver.

18. *And she said to her maids, Bring me oil.* For faith and love prepare oil and unguents to those who are washed. But what were these unguents, but the commandments of the holy Word? And what was the oil, but the power of the Holy Spirit, with which believers are anointed as with ointment after the laver of washing? All these things were

[1] Gal. ii. 4.

[2] Prov. i. 32; in our version given as, "The prosperity of fools shall destroy them."

figuratively represented in the blessed Susannah, for our sakes, that we who now believe on God might not regard the things that are done now in the church as strange, but believe them all to have been set forth in figure by the patriarchs of old, as the apostle also says: *Now these things happened unto them for ensamples: and they were written for our instruction, on whom the ends of the world are come.*[1]

18. *And they went out at privy doors;* showing thus by anticipation, that he who desires to partake of the water in the garden must renounce the broad gate, and enter by the strait and narrow.[2]

And they saw not the elders. For as of old the devil was concealed in the serpent in the garden, so now too, concealed in the elders, he fired them with his own lust, that he might again a second time corrupt Eve.

20. *Behold, the garden doors are shut.* O wicked rulers, and filled with the workings of the devil, did Moses deliver these things to you? And while ye read the law yourselves, do ye teach others thus? Thou that sayest, *Thou shalt not kill,* dost thou kill? Thou that sayest, *Thou shalt not covet,* dost thou desire to corrupt the wife of thy neighbour?

And we are in love with thee. Why, ye lawless, do ye strive to gain over a chaste and guileless soul by deceitful words, in order to satisfy your own lust?

21. *If thou wilt not, we will bear witness against thee.* This wicked audacity with which you begin, comes of the deceitfulness that lurks in you from the beginning. And there was in reality a young man with her, that one[3] of yours; one from heaven, not to have intercourse with her, but to bear witness to her truth.

22. *And Susannah sighed.* The blessed Susannah, then, when she heard these words, was troubled in her heart, and set a watch upon her mouth, not wishing to be defiled by the wicked elders. Now it is in our power also to apprehend the real meaning of all that befell Susannah. For you may find this also fulfilled in the present condition of the church. For

[1] 1 Cor. x. 11. [2] Matt. vii. 13, 14.

[3] That is, Daniel, present in the spirit of prophecy.—COMBEF.

when the two peoples conspire to destroy any of the saints, they watch for a fit time, and enter the house of God while all there are praying and praising God, and seize some of them, and carry them off, and keep hold of them, saying, Come, consent with us, and worship our Gods; and if not, we will bear witness against you. And when they refuse, they drag them before the court, and accuse them of acting contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, and condemn them to death.

I am straitened on every side. Behold the words of a chaste woman, and one dear to God: *I am straitened on every side.* For the church is afflicted and straitened, not only by the Jews, but also by the Gentiles, and by those who are called Christians, but are not such in reality. For they, observing her chaste and happy life, strive to ruin her.

For if I do this thing, it is death to me. For to be disobedient to God, and obedient to men, works eternal death and punishment.

And if I do it not, I cannot escape your hands. And this indeed is said with truth. For they who are brought into judgment for the sake of God's name, if they do what is commanded them by men, die to God, and shall live in the world. But if they refuse to do what is commanded them by men, they escape not the hands of their judges, but are condemned by them.

23. *It is better for me not to do it.* For it is better to die by the hand of wicked men and live with God, than, by consenting to them, to be delivered from them and fall into the hands of God.

24. *And Susannah cried with a loud voice.* And to whom did Susannah cry but to God? as Isaiah says: *Then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer thee; whilst thou art yet speaking, He shall say, Lo, here I am.*[1]

And the two elders cried out against her. For the wicked never cease to cry out against us, and to say: Away with such from off the earth, for it is not fit that they should live. In an evangelical sense, Susannah despised them who kill the body, in order that she might save her soul from death.

[1] Isa. lviii. 9.

Now sin is the death of the soul, and especially (the sin of) adultery. For when the soul that is united with Christ forsakes its faith, it is given over to perpetual death, viz. eternal punishment. And in confirmation of this, in the case of the transgression and violation of marriage unions in the flesh, the law has decreed the penalty of death.

25. *Then ran the one and opened the gates;* pointing to the broad and spacious way on which they who follow such persons perish.

31. *Now Susannah was a very delicate woman.* Not that she had meretricious adornments about her person, as Jezebel had, or eyes painted with divers colours; but that she had the adornment of faith, and chastity, and sanctity.

34. *And laid their hands upon her head;* that at least by touching her they might satisfy their lust.

35. *And she was weeping.* For by her tears she attracted the (regard of) the Word from heaven, who was with tears to raise the dead Lazarus.

41. *Then the assembly believed them.* It becomes us, then, to be stedfast in every duty, and to give no heed to lies, and to yield no obsequious obedience to the persons of rulers, knowing that we have to give account to God; but if we follow the truth, and aim at the exact rule of faith, we shall be well-pleasing to God.

44. *And the Lord heard her voice.* For those who call upon Him from a pure heart, God heareth. But from those who (call upon Him) in deceit and hypocrisy, God turneth away His face.

52. *O thou that art waxen old in wickedness.* Now, since at the outset, in the introduction, we explained that the two elders are to be taken as a type of the two peoples, that of the circumcision and that of the Gentiles, which are always enemies of the church; let us mark the words of Daniel, and learn that the Scripture deals falsely with us in nothing. For, addressing the first elder, he censures him as one instructed in the law; while he addresses the other as a Gentile, calling him *the seed of Chanaan*, although he was then among the circumcision.

55. *For even now the angel of God.* He shows also, that when Susannah prayed to God, and was heard, the angel was sent then to help her, just as was the case in the instance of Tobias[1] and Sara. For when they prayed, the supplication of both of them was heard in the same day and the same hour, and the angel Raphael was sent to heal them both.

61. *And they arose against the two elders;* that the saying might be fulfilled, *Whoso diggeth a pit for his neighbour, shall fall therein.*[2]

To all these things, therefore, we ought to give heed, beloved, fearing lest any one be overtaken in any transgression, and risk the loss of his soul, knowing as we do that God is the Judge of all; and the Word[3] Himself is the Eye which nothing that is done in the world escapes. Therefore, always watchful in heart and pure in life, let us imitate Susannah.

By the most holy Hippolytus, bishop of Rome: The Exact Account of the Times,[4] etc.

OTHER FRAGMENTS.

[From Gallandi.]

I.

(In *Anastasius Sinaita*, quæst. xlviii. p. 327.)

From Hippolytus on Daniel.

For when the iron legs that now hold the sovereignty have given place to the feet and the toes, in accordance with the representation of the terrible beast, as has also been signified in the former times, then from heaven will come the stone that smites the image, and breaks it; and it will subvert all the kingdoms, and give the kingdom to the saints of the Most High. This is the stone which becomes a great moun-

[1] Tobit iii. 17. [2] Prov. xxvi. 27.

[3] Cotelerius reads ὅλος instead of ὁ λόγος, and so = and He is Himself the whole or universal eye.

[4] This fragment seems to have belonged to the beginning or introduction to the commentary of Hippolytus on Daniel.

tain, and fills the earth, and of which it is written: *I saw in the night-visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days. And there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom; and all peoples, nations, and languages shall serve Him: His power is an everlasting power, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed.*[1]

II.

On the Song of the Three Children (from the *Catena Patrum in Psalmos et Cantica*, vol. iii. ed. Corderianæ, pp. 951, ad v. 87.)

O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, bless ye the Lord; O ye apostles, prophets, and martyrs of the Lord, bless ye the Lord: praise Him, and exalt Him above all, for ever.

We may well marvel at the words of the three youths in the furnace, how they enumerated all created things, so that not one of them might be reckoned free and independent in itself; but, summing up and naming them all together, both things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, they showed them to be all the servants of God, who created all things by the Word, that no one should boast that any of the creatures was without birth and beginning.

ON MATTHEW.

[De Magistris, *Acta Martyrum Ostiens.* p. 405.]

He is giving his opinion on the ἐπιούσιον, *i.e.* the *daily bread*, in Matt. vi. 11.

For this reason we are enjoined to ask what is sufficient for the preservation of the substance of the body: not luxury, but food, which restores what the body loses, and prevents death by hunger; not tables to inflame and drive on to pleasures, nor such things as make the body wax wanton against the soul; but bread, and that, too, not for a great number of years, but what is sufficient for us to-day.

[1] Dan. vii. 13.

ON LUKE.

[Mai, *Script. vet. collectio nova*, vol. ix. p. 645, Rome 1837.]

Chap. ii. 7. And if you please, we say that the Word was the first-born of God, who came down from heaven to the blessed Mary, and was made a first-born man in her womb, in order that the first-born of God might be manifested in union with a first-born man.

22. When they brought Him to the temple to present Him to the Lord, they offered the oblations of purification. For if the gifts of purification according to the law were offered for Him, in this indeed He was made under the law. But the Word was not subject to the law in such wise as the sycophants[1] fancy, since He is the law Himself; neither did God need sacrifices of purification, for He purifieth and sanctifieth all things at once in a moment. But though He took to Himself the frame of man as He received it from the Virgin, and was made under the law, and was thus purified after the manner of the first-born, it was not because He needed this ceremonial that He underwent its services, but only for the purpose of redeeming from the bondage of the law those who were sold under the judgment of the curse.

Chap. xxiii. For this reason the warders of Hades trembled when they saw Him; and the gates of brass and the bolts of iron were broken. For, lo, the Only-begotten entered, a soul among souls, God the Word with a (human) soul. For His body lay in the tomb, not emptied of divinity; but as, while in Hades, He was in essential being with His Father, so was He also in the body and in Hades. For the Son is not contained in space, just as the Father; and He comprehends all things in Himself. But of His own will He dwelt in a body animated by a soul, in order that with His soul He might enter Hades, and not with His pure divinity.

[1] οἱ συκοφάνται.

DOUBTFUL FRAGMENTS ON THE PENTATEUCH.

[These are edited in Arabic and Latin by Fabricius, *Opp. Hippol.* ii. 33. That these are spurious is now generally agreed. The translation is from the Latin version, which alone is given by Migne.]

Preface.

In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, one God. This is a transcript of the excellent law. But before beginning to give the transcript of the book of the law, it will be worth while to instruct you, O brother, as to its excellence, and the dignity of its disposition. Its first excellence is, that God delivered it by the hand of our most blessed ruler, the chief of the prophets, and first of the apostles, or those who were sent to the children of Israel, viz. Moses the son of Amram, the son of Kohath, of the sons of Levi. Now he was adorned with all manner of wisdom, and endowed with the best genius. Illustrious in dignity, remarkable for the integrity of his disposition, distinguished for power of reason, he talked with God. And He chose him as an instrument of value. By His leader and prophet, God Most High sent it down to us, and committed it to us (blessed be His name) in the Syriac tongue of the Targum, which the Seventy translated into the Hebrew tongue, to wit, into the tongue of the nation, and the idiom of the common people. Moses, therefore, received it from the eternal Lord, and was the first to whom it was entrusted, and who obeyed its rules and ordinances. Then he taught it to the children of Israel, who also embraced it. And he explained to them its profound mysteries and dark places. And he expounded to them those things which were less easy, as God permitted him, and concealed from them those secrets of the law, as God forbade him (to reveal them). Nor did there rise among them one who was better practised in His judgments and decrees, and who communicated more clearly the mysteries of His doctrine, until God translated him to Himself, after He had made him perfect by forty whole years in the wilderness.

And these following are the names of the teachers who handed down the law in continuous succession after Moses the prophet, until the advent of Messiah :

Know, then, my brother, whom may God bless, that God delivered the most excellent law into the hands of Moses the prophet, the son of Amram.

And Moses delivered it to Joshua the son of Nun.

And Joshua the son of Nun delivered it to Anathal.

And Anathal delivered it to Jehud.

And Jehud delivered it to Samgar.

And Samgar delivered it to Baruk.

And Baruk delivered it to Gideon.

And Gideon delivered it to Abimelech.

And Abimelech delivered it to Taleg.

And Taleg delivered it to Babin the Gileadite.

And Babin delivered it to Jiphtach.

And Jiphtach delivered it to Ephran.

And Ephran delivered it to Elul of the tribe of Zebulon.

And Elul delivered it to Abdan.

And Abdan delivered it to Shimshon the brave.

And Shimshon delivered it to Helkanah, the son of Jerachmu, the son of Jehud. Moreover, he was the father of Samuel the prophet. Of this Helkanah mention is made in the beginning of the first book of Kings (Samuel).

And Helkanah delivered it to Eli the priest.

And Eli delivered it to Samuel the prophet.

And Samuel delivered it to Nathan the prophet.

And Nathan delivered it to Gad the prophet.

And Gad the prophet delivered it to Shemaiah the teacher.

And Shemaiah delivered it to Iddo the teacher.

And Iddo delivered it to Achia.

And Achia delivered it to Abihu.

And Abihu delivered it to Elias the prophet.

And Elias delivered it to his disciple Elisaeus.

And Elisaeus delivered it to Malachia the prophet.

[1]And Malachia delivered it to Abdiahu.

And Abdiahu delivered it to Jehuda.

And Jehuda delivered it to Zacharias the teacher.

In those days came Bachthansar king of Babel, and laid waste the house of the sanctuary, and carried the children of Israel into captivity to Babel.

And after the captivity of Babel, Zacharia the teacher delivered it to Esaia the prophet, the son of Amos.

And Esaia delivered it to Jeremia the prophet.

And Jeremia the prophet delivered it to Chizkiel.

And Chizkiel the prophet delivered it to Hosea the prophet, the son of Bazi.

And Hosea delivered it to Joiel the prophet.

And Joiel delivered it to Amos the prophet.

And Amos delivered it to Obadia.

And Obadia delivered it to Jonan the prophet, the son of Mathi, the son of Armelah, who was the brother of Elias the prophet.

And Jonan delivered it to Micha the Morasthite, who delivered it to Nachum the Alcusite.

And Nachum delivered it to Chabakuk the prophet.

And Chabakuk delivered it to Sophonia the prophet.

And Sophonia delivered it to Chaggaeus the prophet.

And Chaggaeus delivered it to Zecharia the prophet, the son of Bershia.

And Zecharia, when in captivity, delivered it to Malachia.

And Malachia delivered it to Ezra the teacher.

[1] And Ezra delivered it to Shamai the chief priest, and Jadua to Samean, (and) Samean delivered it to Antigonus.

And Antigonus delivered it to Joseph the son of Johezer, (and) Joseph the son of Gjuchanan.

And Joseph delivered it to Jehosua, the son of Barachia.

And Jehosua delivered it to Nathan the Arbelite.

And Nathan delivered it to Shimeon, the elder son of Shebach. This is he who carried the Messias in his arms.

Simeon delivered it to Jehuda.

Jehuda delivered it to Zecharia the priest.

And Zecharia the priest, the father of John the Baptist, delivered it to Joseph, a teacher of his own tribe.

[1] See Tsemach David, and Maimon. Præfat. ad Seder Zeraim, in Pocockii *Porta Moses*, p. 36.

And Joseph delivered it to Hanan and Caiaphas. Moreover, from them were taken away the priestly, and kingly, and prophetic offices.

These were teachers at the advent of Messias; and they were both priests of the children of Israel. Therefore the whole number of venerable and honourable priests put in trust of this most excellent law was fifty-six, Hanan and Caiaphas being excepted.

And those are they who delivered it in the last days to the state of the children of Israel; nor did there arise any priests after them.

This is the account of what took place with regard to the most excellent law.

Armius, author of the book of *Times*, has said: In the nineteenth year of the reign of King Ptolemy, he ordered the elders of the children of Israel to be assembled, in order that they might put into his hands a copy of the law, and that they might each be at hand to explain its meaning.

The elders accordingly came, bringing with them the most excellent law. Then he commanded that every one of them should interpret the book of the law to him.

But he dissented from the interpretation which the elders had given. And he ordered the elders to be thrust into prison and chains. And seizing the book of the law, he threw it into a deep ditch, and cast fire and hot ashes upon it for seven days. Then afterwards he ordered them to throw the filth of the city into that ditch in which was the book of the law. And the ditch was filled to the very top.

The law remained seventy years under the filth in that ditch, yet did not perish, nor was there even a single leaf of it spoilt.

In the twenty-first year of the reign of King Apianutus they took the book of the law out of the ditch, and not one leaf thereof was spoilt.

And after the ascension of Christ into heaven, came King Titus, son of Aspasianus king of Rome, to Jerusalem, and besieged and took it. And he destroyed the edifice of the second house, which the children of Israel had built. Titus

the king destroyed the house of the sanctuary, and slew all the Jews who were in it, and built Tsion (*sic*) in their blood. And after that deportation the Jews were scattered abroad in slavery. Nor did they assemble any more in the city of Jerusalem, nor is there hope anywhere of their returning.

After Jerusalem was laid waste, therefore, Shemaia and Antalia (Abtalion) delivered the law,—kings of Baalbach,[1] a city which Soliman, son of King David, had built of old, and which was restored anew in the days of King Menasse, who sawed Esaia the prophet asunder.

King Adrian, of the children of Edom, besieged Baalbach, and took it, and slew all the Jews who were in it, (and) as many as were of the family of David he reduced to slavery. And the Jews were dispersed over the whole earth, as God Most High had foretold: *And I will scatter you among the Gentiles, and disperse you among the nations.*

And these are the things which have reached us as to the history of that most excellent book.

The Preface is ended.

In the name of God eternal, everlasting, most mighty, merciful, compassionate.

By the help of God we begin to describe the book of the law, and its interpretation, as the holy, learned, and most excellent fathers have interpreted it.

The following, therefore, is the interpretation of the first book, which indeed is the book of the creation (and) of created beings.

Section I.

Of the creation of heaven and earth. *In the beginning God created*, etc.

An exposition of that which God said.

And the blessed prophet, indeed, the great Moses, wrote this book, and designated and marked it with the title, *The Book of Being*, i.e. *of created beings*, etc.

[1] Heliopolis of Syria.

Sections II. III.

And the Lord said: *And I will bring the waters of the flood upon the earth to destroy all flesh*, etc.

Hippolytus, the Targumist expositor, said: The names of the wives of the sons of Noah are these: the name of the wife of Sem, Nahalath Mahnuk; and the name of the wife of Cham, Zedkat Nabu; and the name of the wife of Japheth, Arathka. These, moreover, are their names in the Syriac Targum. (*What follows was thus expressed probably in Syriac in some Syriac version*): The name of the wife of Sem was Nahalath Mahnuk; the name of the wife of Cham, Zedkat Nabu; the name of the wife of Japheth, Arathka.

Therefore God gave intimation to Noah, and informed him of the coming of the flood, and of the destruction of the ruined (wicked).

And God Most High ordered him to descend from the holy mount, him and his sons, and the wives of his sons, and to build a ship of three storeys. The lower storey was for fierce, wild, and dangerous beasts. Between them there were stakes or wooden beams, to separate them from each other, and prevent them from having intercourse with each other. The middle storey was for birds, and their different genera. Then the upper storey was for Noah himself and his sons—for his own wife and his sons' wives.

Noah also made a door in the ship, on the east side. He also constructed tanks of water, and store-rooms of provisions.

When he had made an end, accordingly, of building the ship, Noah, with his sons, Sem, Cham, and Japheth, entered the cave of deposits.[1]

And on their first approach, indeed, they happily found the bodies of the fathers, Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kainan, Mahaliel, Jared, Mathusalach, and Lamech. Those eight bodies were in the place of deposits, viz. those of Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kainan, Mahaliel, Jared, Mathusalach, and Lamech.

Noah, moreover, took the body of Adam. And his sons took with them offerings. Sem carried gold, Cham myrrh,

[1] Cavernam thesaurorum.

and Japheth frankincense. Then, leaving the cave of deposits, they transferred the offerings and the body of Adam to the holy mount.

And when they sat down by the body of Adam, over against paradise, they began to lament and weep for the loss of paradise.

Then, descending from the holy mount, and lifting up their eyes towards paradise, they renewed their weeping and wailing, (and) uttered an eternal farewell in these terms: Farewell! peace to thee, O paradise of God! Farewell, O habitation of religion and purity! Farewell, O seat of pleasure and delight!

Then they embraced the stones and trees of the holy mount, and wept, and said: Farewell, O habitation of the good! Farewell, O abode of holy bodies!

Then, after three days, Noah, with his sons and his sons' wives, came down from the holy mount to the base of the holy mount, to the ship's place. For the (ark) was under the projecting edge of the holy mount.

And Noah entered the ship, and deposited the body of Adam, and the offerings, in the middle of the ship, upon a bier of wood, which he had prepared for the reception of the body.

And God charged Noah, saying: Make for thyself rattles[1] of boxwood (or cypress). Now שמשאר is the wood called Sagh, *i.e.* Indian plane.

Make also the hammer (bell) thereof of the same wood. And the length of the rattle shall be three whole cubits, and its breadth one and a half cubit.

And God enjoined him to strike the rattles three times every day, to wit, for the first time at early dawn, for the second time at mid-day, and for the third time at sunset.

And it happened that, as soon as Noah had struck the rattles, the sons of Cain and the sons of Vahim ran up straightway to him, and he warned and alarmed them by telling of the immediate approach of the flood, and of the destruction already hasting on and impending.

Thus, moreover, was the pity of God toward them dis-

[1] Crepitacula.

played, that they might be converted and come to themselves again. But the sons of Cain did not comply with what Noah proclaimed to them. And Noah brought together pairs, male and female, of all birds of every kind; and thus also of all beasts, tame and wild alike, pair and pair.

Section iv.

On Gen. vii. 6.

Hippolytus, the Syrian expositor of the Targum, has said: We find in an ancient Hebrew copy that God commanded Noah to range the wild beasts in order in the lower floor or storey, and to separate the males from the females by putting wooden stakes between them.

And thus, too, he did with all the cattle, and also with the birds in the middle storey. And God ordered the males thus to be separated from the females for the sake of decency and purity, lest they should perchance get intermingled with each other.

Moreover, God said to Moses: Provide victuals for yourself and your children. And let them be of wheat, ground, pounded, kneaded with water, and dried. And Noah there and then bade his wife, and his sons' wives, diligently attend to kneading dough and laying it in the oven. They kneaded dough accordingly, and prepared just about as much as might be sufficient for them, so that nothing should remain over but the very least.

And God charged Noah, saying to him: Whosoever shall first announce to you the approach of the deluge, him you shall destroy that very moment. In the meantime, moreover, the wife of Cham was standing by, about to put a large piece of bread into the oven. And suddenly, according to the word of the Lord, water rushed forth from the oven, and the flow of water penetrated and destroyed the bread. Therefore the wife of Cham exclaimed, addressing herself to Noah: Oh, sir, the word of God is come good: *that which God foretold is come to pass;* execute, therefore, that which the Lord commanded. And when Noah heard the words of the wife of

Cham, he said to her: Is then the flood already come? The wife of Cham said to him: Thou hast said it. God, however, suddenly charged Noah, saying: Destroy not the wife of Cham; for from thy mouth is the beginning of destruction (thou didst first say, The flood is come). At the voice of Noah the flood came, and suddenly the water destroyed that bread. And the floodgates of heaven were opened, and the rains broke upon the earth. And that same voice, in sooth, which had said of old, *Let the waters be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear*,[1] gave permission to the fountain of waters and the floods of the seas to break forth of their own accord, and brought out the waters.

Consider what God said about the world: Let all its high places be brought low, and they were brought low; and let its low places be raised from its depths.

And the earth was made bare and empty of all existence, as it was at the beginning.

And the rain descended from above, and the earth burst open beneath. And the frame of the earth was destroyed, and its primitive order was broken. And the world became such as it was when desolated at the beginning by the waters which flowed over it. Nor was any one of the existences upon it left in its integrity.

Its former structure went to wreck, and the earth was disfigured by the flood of waters that burst upon it, and by the magnitude of its inundations, and the multitude of showers, and the eruption from its depths, as the waters continually broke forth. In fine, it was left such as it was formerly.

Section v.

On Gen. viii. 1.

Hippolytus, the expositor of the Targum, and my master, Jacobus Rohaviensis, have said: On the twenty-seventh day of the month Jiar, which is the second Hebrew month, the ark rose from the base of the holy mount; and already the waters bore it, and it was carried upon them round about

[1] Gen. i. 9.

towards the four cardinal points of the world. The ark accordingly held off from the holy mount towards the east, then returned towards the west, then turned to the south, and finally bearing off eastwards, neared Mount Kardu on the first day of the tenth month. And that is the second month Kanun.

And Noah came out of the ark on the twenty-seventh day of the month Jiar, in the second year: for the ark continued sailing five whole months, and moved to and fro upon the waters, and in a period of fifty-one days neared the land. Nor thereafter did it float about any longer. But it only moved successively toward the four cardinal points of the earth, and again finally stood toward the east. We say, moreover, that that was a sign of the cross. And the ark was a symbol of the Christ who was expected. For that ark was the means of the salvation of Noah and his sons, and also of the cattle, the wild beasts, and the birds. And Christ, too, when He suffered on the cross, delivered us from accusations and sins, and washed us in His own blood most pure.

And just as the ark returned to the east, and neared Mount Kardu, so also Christ, when the work was accomplished and finished which He had proposed to Himself, returned to heaven to the bosom of His Father, and sat down upon the throne of His glory at the Father's right hand.

As to Mount Kardu, it is in the east, in the land of the sons of Raban, and the Orientals call it Mount Godash (*Gordyæum*); the Arabians and Persians call it Ararat.[1]

And there is a town of the name Kardu, and that hill is called after it, which is indeed very lofty and inaccessible, whose summit no one has ever been able to reach, on account of the violence of the winds and the storms which always prevail there. And if any one attempts to ascend it, there are demons that rush upon him, and cast him down headlong from the ridge of the mountain into the plain, so that he dies. No one, moreover, knows what there is on the top of the mountain, except that certain relics of the wood of the ark still lie there on the surface of the top of the mountain.

[1] See Fuller, *Misc. Sacr.* i. 4; and Bochart, *Phaleg.* p. 22.

Section x.

On Deut. xxxiii. 11.

Hippolytus, the expositor of the Targum, has said that Moses, when he had finished this prophecy, also pronounced a blessing upon all the children of Israel, by their several tribes, and prayed for them. Then God charged Moses, saying to him, Go up to Mount Nebo, which indeed is known by the name of the mount of the Hebrews, which is in the land of Moab over against Jericho.

And He said to him: View the land of Chanaan, which I am to give to the children of Israel for an inheritance. Thou, however, shalt never enter it; wherefore view it well from afar off. When Moses therefore viewed it, he saw that land,—a land green, and abounding with all plenty and fertility, planted thickly with trees; and Moses was greatly moved, and wept.

And when Moses descended from Mount Nebo, he called for Joshua the son of Nun, and said to him before the children of Israel: Prevail, and be strong; for thou art to bring the children of Israel into the land which God promised to their fathers that He would give them for an inheritance. Fear not, therefore, the people, neither be afraid of the nations: for God will be with thee.

And Moses wrote that Senna[1] (Hebr. משנה = *secondary law*, or *Deuteronomy*), and gave it to the priests the sons of Levi, and commanded them, saying: For seven years keep this Senna hid, and show it not within the entire course of seven years. (*And then*) in the feast of tabernacles, the priests the sons of Levi will read this law before the children of Israel, that the whole people, men and women alike, may observe the words of God: Command them to keep the word of God, which is in that law. And whosoever shall violate one of its precepts, let him be accursed.

Accordingly, when Moses had finished the writing of the law, he gave it to Joshua the son of Nun, and enjoined him to give it to the sons of Levi, the priests. Moses also enjoined

[1] That is the name the Mohammedans give to their *Traditions*.

and charged them to place the book of the law again within the ark of the covenant of the Lord, that it might remain there for a testimony for ever.

And when Moses had made an end of his injunctions, God bade him go up Mount Nebo, which is over against Jericho. The Lord showed him the whole land of promise in its four quarters, from the wilderness to the sea, and from sea to sea. And the Lord said to him, Thou hast seen it indeed with thine eyes, but thou shalt never enter it. There accordingly Moses died, the servant of God, by the command of God. And the angels buried him on Mount Nebo, which is over against Beth-Phegor. And no one knows of his sepulchre, even to this day. For God concealed his grave.

And Moses lived 120 years; nor was his eye dim, nor was the skin of his face wrinkled.

Moses died on a certain day, at the third hour of the day, on the seventh day of the second month, which is the month Jiar.

And the children of Israel wept for him in the plains of Moab three days.

And Joshua the son of Nun was filled with the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hand upon him. And all the children of Israel obeyed him. And God charged Joshua the son of Nun on a certain day,—namely, the seventh day of the month Nisan.

And Joshua the son of Nun lived 110 years, and died on the fourth day, which was the first day of the month Elul. And they buried him in the city Thamnatserach, on Mount Ephraim.

Praise be to God for the completion (of the work).

ON THE PSALMS.

[Simon de Magistris, *Acta Martyrum Ostiensium*, Append. p. 439.]

The argument of the exposition of the Psalms by Hippolytus, bishop of Rome.

1. The book of Psalms contains new doctrine after the law which was given by Moses; and thus it is the second book of doctrine after the Scripture of Moses. After the death,

then, of Moses and Joshua, and after the judges, David arose, one deemed worthy to be called the father of the Saviour, and he was the first to give the Hebrews a new style of psalmody, by which he did away with the ordinances established by Moses with respect to sacrifice, and introduced a new mode of the worship of God by hymns and acclamations; and many other things also beyond the law of Moses he taught through his whole ministry. And this is the sacredness of the book, and its utility. And the account to be given of its inscription is this: (for) as most of the brethren who believe in Christ think that this book is David's, and inscribe it *Psalms of David*, we must state what has reached us with respect to it. The Hebrews give the book the title *Sephra Thelim*,[1] and in the *Acts of the Apostles* it is called the *Book of Psalms* (the words are these, *as it is written in the Book of Psalms*), but the name (of the author) in the inscription of the book is not found there. And the reason of that is, that the words written there are not the words of one man, but those of several together; Esdra, as tradition says, having collected in one volume, after the captivity, the psalms of several, or rather their words, as they are not all psalms. Thus the name of David is prefixed in the case of some, and that of Solomon in others, and that of Asaph in others. There are some also that belong to Idithum (Jeduthun); and besides these there are others that belong to the sons of Core (Korah), and even to Moses. As they are therefore the words of so many thus collected together, they could not be said by any one who understands the matter to be by David alone.

2. As regards those which have no inscription, we must also inquire to whom we ought to ascribe them. For why is it that even the simplest inscription is wanting in them—such as the one which runs thus, *A psalm of David*, or *Of David*, without any addition? Now, my idea is, that wherever this inscription occurs alone, what is written is neither a psalm nor a song, but some sort of utterance under guidance of the Holy

[1] That is an attempt to express in Greek letters the Hebrew title, viz. סֵפֶר תְּהִלִּים = Book of Praises.

Spirit, recorded for the behoof of him who is able to understand it. But the opinion of a certain Hebrew on these last matters has reached me, who held that, when there were many without any inscription, but preceded by one with the inscription *Of David*, all these should be reckoned also to be by David. And if this is the case, it follows that those without any inscription are by those (writers) who are rightly reckoned, according to the titles, to be the authors of the psalms preceding these. This book of Psalms before us has also been called by the prophet the *Psalter*, because, as they say, the psaltery alone among musical instruments gives back the sound from above when the brass is struck, and not from beneath, after the manner of others. In order, therefore, that those who understand it may be zealous to carry out the analogy of such an appellation, and may also look above, from which direction its melody comes—for this reason he has styled it the Psalter. For it is entirely the voice and utterance of the most Holy Spirit.

3. Let us inquire, further, why there are one hundred and fifty psalms. That the number fifty is sacred, is manifest from the days of the celebrated festival of Pentecost, which indicates release from labours, and (the possession of) joy. For which reason neither fasting nor bending the knee is decreed for those days. For this is a symbol of the great assembly that is reserved for future times. Of which times there was a shadow in the land of Israel in the year called among the Hebrews *Jobel* (Jubilee), which is the fiftieth year in number, and brings with it liberty for the slave, and release from debt, and the like. And the holy Gospel knows also the remission of the number fifty, and of that number which is cognate with it, and stands by it, viz. five hundred;[1] for it is not without a purpose that we have given us there the remission of fifty pence and of five hundred. Thus, then, it was also meet that the hymns to God on account of the destruction of enemies, and in thanksgiving for the goodness of God, should contain not simply one set of fifty, but three such, for the name of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit.

[1] Luke vii. 41.

4. The number fifty, moreover, contains seven sevens, or a Sabbath of Sabbaths; and also over and above these full Sabbaths, a new beginning, in the eight, of a really new rest that remains above the Sabbaths. And let any one who is able, observe this (as it is carried out) in the Psalms with more, indeed, than human accuracy, so as to find out the reasons in each case, as we shall set them forth. Thus, for instance, it is not without a purpose that the eighth psalm has the inscription, *On the wine-presses*, as it comprehends the perfection of fruits in the eight; for the time for the enjoyment of the fruits of the true vine could not be before the eight. And again, the second psalm inscribed *On the wine-presses*, is the eightieth, containing another eighth number, viz. in the tenth multiple. The eighty-third, again, is made up by the union of two holy numbers, viz. the eight in the tenth multiple, and the three in the first multiple. And the fiftieth psalm is a prayer for the remission of sins, and a confession. For as, according to the Gospel, the fiftieth obtained remission, confirming thereby that understanding of the jubilee, so he who offers up such petitions in full confession hopes to gain remission in no other number than the fiftieth. And again, there are also certain others which are called *Songs of degrees*, in number fifteen, as was also the number of the steps of the temple, and which show thereby, perhaps, that the *steps* (or *degrees*) are comprehended within the number seven and the number eight. And these songs of degrees begin after the one hundred and twentieth psalm, which is called simply *a psalm*, as the more accurate copies give it. And this is the number[1] of the perfection of the life of man. And the hundredth[2] psalm, which begins thus, *I will sing of mercy and judgment, O Lord*, embraces the life of the saint in fellowship with God. And the one hundred and fiftieth ends with these words, *Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord.*

5. But since, as we have already said, to do this in the case of each, and to find out the reasons, is very difficult, and too much for human nature to accomplish, we shall content

[1] Gen. vi. 3.

[2] *i.e.* in our version the 101st.

ourselves with these things by way of an outline. Only let us add this, that the psalms which deal with historical matter are not found in regular historical order. And the only reason for this is to be found in the numbers according to which the psalms are arranged. For instance, the history in the fifty-first is antecedent to the history in the fiftieth. For everybody acknowledges that the matter of Doeg the Idumean calumniating David to Saul is antecedent to the sin with the wife of Urias; yet it is not without good reason that the history which should be second is placed first, since, as we have before said, the place regarding remission has an affinity with the number fifty. He, therefore, who is not worthy of remission, passes the number fifty, as Doeg the Idumean. For the fifty-first is the psalm that treats of him. And, moreover, the third is in the same position, since it was written when David fled from the face of Absalom his son; and thus, as all know who read the books of Kings, it should come properly after the fifty-first and the fiftieth. And if any one desires to give further attention to these and such like matters, he will find more exact explanations of the history for himself, as well as of the inscriptions and the order of the psalms.

6. It is likely, also, that a similar account is to be given of the fact, that David alone of the prophets prophesied with an instrument, called by the Greeks the *psaltery*, and by the Hebrews the *nabla*, which is the only musical instrument that is quite straight, and has no curve. And the sound does not come from the lower parts, as is the case with the lute and certain other instruments, but from the upper. For in the lute and the lyre the brass when struck gives back the sound from beneath. But this psaltery has the source of its musical numbers above, in order that we, too, may practise seeking things above, and not suffer ourselves to be borne down by the pleasure of melody to the passions of the flesh. And I think that this truth, too, was signified deeply and clearly to us in a prophetic way in the construction of the instrument, viz. that those who have souls well-ordered and trained, have the way ready to things above. And again, an

instrument having the source of its melodious sound in its upper parts, may be taken as like the body of Christ and His saints—the only instrument that maintains rectitude; *for He did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth.*[1] This is indeed an instrument, harmonious, melodious, well-ordered, that took in no human discord, and did nothing out of measure, but maintained in all things, as it were, harmony towards the Father; for, as He says: *He that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: He that cometh from heaven, testifies of what He has seen and heard.*[2]

7. As there are *psalms*, and *songs*, and *psalms of song*, and *songs of psalmody*,[3] it remains that we discuss the difference between these. We think, then, that the *psalms* are those which are simply played to an instrument, without the accompaniment of the voice, and (which are composed) for the musical melody of the instrument; and that those are called *songs* which are rendered by the voice in concert with the music; and that they are called *psalms of song* when the voice takes the lead, while the appropriate sound is also made to accompany it, rendered harmoniously by the instruments; and *songs of psalmody*, when the instrument takes the lead, while the voice has the second place, and accompanies the music of the strings. And thus much as to the letter of what is signified by these terms. But as to the mystical interpretation, it would be a *psalm* when, by smiting the instrument, viz. the body, with good deeds we succeed in good action, though not wholly proficient in speculation; and a *song*, when, by revolving the mysteries of the truth, apart from the practical, and assenting fully to them, we have the noblest thoughts of God and His oracles, while knowledge enlightens us, and wisdom shines brightly in our souls; and a *song of psalmody*, when, while good action takes the lead, according to the word, *If thou desire wisdom, keep the commandments, and the Lord shall give her unto thee,*[4] we under-

[1] Isa. liii. 9. [2] John iii. 31.

[3] The Greek is: ὄντων ψαλμῶν, καὶ οὐσῶν ᾠδῶν, καὶ ψαλμῶν ᾠδῆς, καὶ ᾠδῶν ψαλμοῦ.

[4] Ecclus. i. 26.

stand wisdom at the same time, and are deemed worthy by God to know the truth of things, till now kept hid from us; and a *psalm of song*, when, by revolving with the light of wisdom some of the more abstruse questions pertaining to morals, we first become prudent in action, and then also able to tell what, and when, and how action is to be taken. And perhaps this is the reason why the first inscriptions nowhere contain the word *songs*, but only *psalm* or *psalms;* for the saint does not begin with speculation; but when he has become in a simple way a believer, according to orthodoxy, he devotes himself to the actions that are to be done. For this reason, also, are there many *songs* at the end; and wherever there is the word *degrees*, there we do not find the word *psalm*, whether by itself alone or with any addition, but only *songs*. For in the *degrees* (or *ascents*), the saints will be engaged in nothing but in speculation alone. And let the account which we have offered, following the indications given in the interpretation of the Seventy, suffice for this subject in general.

8. But again, as we found in the Seventy, and in Theodotion, and in Symmachus, in some psalms, and these not a few, the word διάψαλμα inserted, we endeavoured to make out whether those who placed it there meant to mark a change at those places in rhythm or melody, or any alteration in the mode of instruction, or in thought, or in force of language. It is found, however, neither in Aquila nor in the Hebrew; but there, instead of διαψάλμα (= an intervening musical symphony), we find the word ἀεί (= ever). And further, let not this fact escape thee, O man of learning, that the Hebrews also divided the Psalter into five books, so that it might be another Pentateuch. For from Ps. i. to xl. they reckoned one book; and from xli. to lxxi. they reckoned a second; and from lxxii. to lxxxviii. they counted a third book; and from lxxxix. to cv. a fourth; and from cvi. to cl. they made up the fifth. For they judged that each psalm closing with the words, *Blessed be the Lord, Amen, amen*, formed the conclusion of a book. And in them we have *prayer*, viz. supplication offered to God for anything requisite; and the *vow*, *i.e.* engagement; and the *hymn*, which is

the song of blessing to God for benefits enjoyed; and *praise* or *extolling*, which is the laudation of the wonders of God. For laudation is nothing else but just the superlative of praise.

9. However it may be with the *time when and the manner* in which this idea of the Psalms was hit upon by the inspired David, he at least seems to have been the first, and indeed the only one concerned in it, and that, too, at the earliest period, when he taught his fingers to tune the psaltery. For if any other before him showed the use of the psaltery and lute, it was at any rate in a very different way that such an one did it, only putting together some rude and clumsy contrivance, or simply employing the instrument, without singing either to melody or to words, but only amusing himself with a rude sort of pleasure. But after such he was the first to reduce the affair to rhythm, and order, and art, and also to wed the singing of the song with the melody. And, what is of greater importance, this most inspired of men sang to God, or of God, beginning in this wise even at the period when he was among the shepherds and youths in a simpler and humbler style, and afterwards when he became a man and a king, attempting something loftier and of more public interest. And he is said to have made this advance, especially after he had brought back the ark into the city. At that time he often danced before the ark, and often sang songs of thanksgiving, and songs to celebrate its recovery. And then by and by, allocating the whole tribe of the Levites to the duty, he appointed four leaders of the choirs, viz. Asaph, Aman (Heman), Ethan, and Idithum (Jeduthun), inasmuch as there are also in all things visible four primal principles. And he then formed choirs of men, selected from the rest. And he fixed their number at seventy-two, having respect, I think, to the number of the tongues that were confused, or rather divided, at the time of the building of the tower. And what was typified by this, but that hereafter all tongues shall again unite in one common confession, when the Word takes possession of the whole world?

OTHER FRAGMENTS ON THE PSALMS.

[De Magistris, *Acta Martyrum Ostien.* p. 256.]

On Psalm xxxi. 22. *Of the triumph of the Christian faith.*

The mercy of God is not so *marvellous* when it is shown in humbler cities as when it is shown in *a strong city*,[1] and for this reason *God is to be blessed.*

II.

On Psalm lv. 15.

One of old used to say that those only descend alive into Hades who are instructed in the knowledge of things divine; for he who has not tasted of the words of life is dead.

III.

On Psalm lviii. 11. (*He is addressing his amanuensis, a man not without learning, as it seems. Hippolytus dictates these words:*)

But since there is a time when the righteous shall rejoice, and sinners shall meet the end foretold for them, we must with all reason fully acknowledge and declare that God is inspector and overseer of all that is done among men, and judges all who dwell upon earth. It is proper further to inquire whether the prophecy in hand, which quite corresponds and fits in with those preceding it, may describe the end.

(*When Hippolytus dictated these words, the grammarian asked him why he hesitated about that prophecy, as if he mistrusted the divine power in that calamity of exile.*) The learned man calls attention to the question why the word διαγράφῃ (= may describe) was used by me in the subjunctive mood, as if silently indicating doubt.

(*Hippolytus accordingly replied:*)

You know indeed quite well, that words of that form are used as conveying by implication a rebuke to those who study the prophecies about Christ, and talk righteousness with the mouth, while they do not admit His coming, nor listen to His

[1] The allusion probably is to the seat of imperial power itself.

voice when He calls to them, and says, *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear;* who have made themselves like the serpent, and have made their ears like those of a deaf viper, and so forth. God then does, in truth, take care of the righteous, and judges their cause when injured on the earth; and He punishes those who dare to injure them.

IV.

On Psalm lix. 11. (*Against the Jews.*)

For this reason, even up to our day, though they see the boundaries (of their country), and go round about them, they stand afar off. And therefore have they no longer king or high priest or prophet, nor even scribes and Pharisees and Sadducees among them. He does not, however, say that they are to be cut off; wherefore their race still subsists, and the succession of their children is continued. For they have not been cut off nor consumed from among men—but they are and exist still—yet only as those who have been rejected and cast down from the honour of which of old they were deemed worthy by God. But again, *Scatter them*, he says, *by Thy power;* which word has also come to pass. For they are scattered throughout the whole earth, in servitude everywhere, and engaging in the lowest and most servile occupations, and doing any unseemly work for hunger's sake.

For if they were destroyed from among men, and remained nowhere among the living, they could not see my people, he means, nor know my church in its prosperity. Therefore *scatter* them everywhere on earth, where my church is to be established, in order that when they see the church founded by me, they may be roused to emulate it in piety. And these things did the Saviour also ask on their behalf.

V.

On Psalm lxii. 6.

Aliens (μετανάσται) properly so called are those who have been despoiled by some enemies or adversaries, and have then

become wanderers; a thing which we indeed also endured formerly at the hand of the demons. But from the time that Christ took us up by faith in Him, we are no longer aliens from the true country—the Jerusalem which is above—nor have we to bear alienation in error from the truth.

VI.

On Psalm lxviii. 18. (*Of the enlargement of the church.*)

And the unbelieving, too, He sometimes draws by means of sickness and outward circumstances; yea, many also by means of visions have come to make their abode with Jesus.

VII.

On Psalm lxxxix. 4. (*Against the Gentiles.*)

And around us are the wise men of the Greeks, mocking and jeering us, as those who believe without inquiry, and foolishly.

VIII.

On the words in Psalm xcvi. 11: *Let the sea roar (be moved), and the fulness thereof.*

By these words it is signified that the preaching of the gospel will be spread abroad over the seas and the islands in the ocean, and among the people dwelling therein, who are here called *the fulness thereof.* And that word has been made good. For churches of Christ fill all the islands, and are being multiplied every day, and the teaching of the Word of salvation is gaining accessions.

IX.

On Psalm cxix. 30–32.

He who loves truth, and never utters a false word with his mouth, may say, *I have chosen the way of truth.* Moreover, he who always sets the judgments of God before his eyes,

and remembers them in every action, will say, *Thy judgments have I not forgotten.* And how is our heart enlarged by trials and afflictions! For these pluck out the thorns of anxious thoughts within us, and enlarge the heart for the reception of the divine laws. For, says he, *in affliction Thou hast enlarged me.* Then do we walk in the way of God's commandments, well prepared for it by the endurance of trials.

X.

On the words in Psalm cxxvii. 7: *On the wrath of mine enemies*, etc. *To his amanuensis.*

Hast thou seen that the power (of God) is most mighty on every side? For (says he) Thou wilt be able to save me when in the midst of troubles, and to keep them in check when they rage, and rave, and breathe fire.

XI.

On the words in Psalm cxxxix. 15: *My substance (or bones) was not hid from Thee, which Thou madest in secret.*

It is said also by those who treat of the nature and generation of animals, that the change of the blood into bone is something invisible and intangible, although in the case of other parts, I mean the flesh and nerves, the mode of their formation may be seen. And the Scripture also, in Ecclesiastes, adduces this, saying, *As thou knowest not the bones in the womb of her that is with child, so thou shalt not know the works of God.*[1] But from Thee was not hid even my substance, as it was originally in the lowest parts of the earth.

[1] Eccles. xi. 5.

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